

THE  
**SATURDAY REVIEW**  
OF  
**POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.**

No. 1,217, Vol. 47.

February 22, 1879.

[ Registered for  
Transmission abroad. ]

Price 6d.

THE ZULU WAR.

THE news from South Africa is so far reassuring that it removes or greatly diminishes some of the gravest apprehensions caused by the disaster of the 22nd of January. It may now be hoped that no serious calamity need be anticipated during the anxious interval that must elapse before the arrival of reinforcements from England. On the 24th Colonel Wood's division engaged and completely defeated a body of 3,000 or 4,000 Zulus, after which he fell back to cover Utrecht; and a very formidable and determined night assault on the position at Rorke's Drift had previously been repelled with heavy loss to the assailants. The colony, it is believed, is now saved from immediate peril of invasion. It is added, however, that the gravity of the position of affairs has not been exaggerated, and that the British forces will maintain a strictly defensive attitude until they are strongly reinforced from England. The Zulus clearly possess military qualities which make them no contemptible foe. The fight at Rorke's Drift was "kept up the greater part of the night. The Zulus 'six times got inside the barricade, and were as often 'driven out at the point of the bayonet.'" They "fought 'with infuriated zeal, even coming up to the loopholes, 'and seizing the muzzles of the rifles.'" The gallantry of the defence made by the handful of men under Lieutenants BROMHEAD and CHARD is beyond all praise. It is satisfactory to know that no avoidable delay has been incurred in despatching the reinforcements which are so urgently needed.

In the meanwhile the published Correspondence confirms the impression that Sir BARTLE FRERE thought it prudent to precipitate a war which the Home Government in vain attempted to prevent or postpone. The COLONIAL SECRETARY, acting with the concurrence of the Cabinet, claimed and ultimately exercised supreme authority, only tempered by comparative ignorance of the circumstances on which peace or war depended. Sir M. H. BEACH is not to be blamed for his recognition of the superior knowledge of Sir BARTLE FRERE; but it will be his duty, when the subject is discussed in Parliament, to assume the responsibility of measures which he has not officially disapproved. His despatch of January 23 virtually sanctions any measure which the HIGH COMMISSIONER might think fit to adopt. "I do not desire to question 'the propriety of any policy which you have adopted in 'the face of a difficult and complicated condition of 'affairs.'" Lord CARNARVON, who by his annexation of the Transvaal furnished one of the indirect causes of the war, justly remarked that the concurrence of Sir BARTLE FRERE, Sir HENRY BULWER, and Sir THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE raised a strong presumption in favour of the policy which they jointly approved. The Correspondence raises a doubt whether Sir HENRY BULWER was as strongly convinced as Sir BARTLE FRERE of the immediate necessity for war. Sir THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, in an elaborate Memorandum of November 18, thinks interference with the Government of the Zulu KING indispensable, but he reserves his opinion on the time and method of remonstrance or coercion. All the principal authorities agreed in the conviction that CETEWAYO could not be trusted; but there is no reason to believe that, if his country had not been invaded, he would have chosen the present time for a collision. Lord CHELMSFORD judiciously warned the HIGH

COMMISSIONER that it was essential to an effective defence to have the power of assuming the offensive on due occasion; but he was only obeying orders when he began the concentric march on CETEWAYO's headquarters which has been interrupted by the destruction of one of his columns and by the loss of the accompanying convoy. The reinforcements which had been refused in October were sent in November, after the receipt of Lord CHELMSFORD's detailed plan of a possible advance into Zululand. Sir M. H. BEACH had expressly directed that the war should not be begun if it could be avoided; but he can scarcely have failed to observe that Sir BARTLE FRERE has for some time past entertained no hope of a peaceful solution. The operations which are for the present suspended were the same which Lord CHELMSFORD had explained in his plan of the campaign. He there stated his reasons for thinking it proper to advance into the enemy's country with five columns, each sufficient for its own protection. He had apparently been misinformed as to the force of Zulus which could be concentrated to crush any single detachment. Difficulties of transport would probably have alone rendered it impossible to advance in a single column, even if such a plan would not have exposed the Transvaal or Natal to a counter-invasion.

Before the annexation of the Transvaal CETEWAYO's menaces were directed exclusively against the territory of the Republic; but, since both provinces are now subject to the English Government, Lord CHELMSFORD thinks that Natal, as the more fertile and more accessible country, is in greater danger than the Transvaal. Two or three months before the outbreak of the war some alarm was created on the border by the assemblage of some Zulu regiments on the left bank of the Tugela River, on pretext of a hunting expedition. It was known that there was little game in the district; and some of the soldiers were reported to have said that, if a buck crossed into Natal, they would immediately follow it. Measures were taken for local defence, and for obtaining fuller information; but after a time the Zulu force was dispersed without having done any mischief. A more alarming symptom of warlike designs consisted in CETEWAYO's withdrawal of protection from the Norwegian and English missionaries who had long resided in his country. He appears to have provided for their safe retirement from his territory; and he probably held that he was only exercising his ordinary prerogative in capriciously murdering some of their native converts. As he put to death about the same time a number of young women who had committed the crime of objecting to marry elderly soldiers, there is no reason to suppose that he entertains any special prejudice against Christianity. CETEWAYO's insolent replies to Sir H. BULWER's remonstrances were perhaps more significant than the eccentricities of his domestic administration. He said that it was true that he killed, but he did not consider that he had done anything yet in the way of killing. "I have yet to kill. It is the custom of our 'nation, and I shall not depart from it. My people will 'not listen unless they are killed.'" He added that, as Governor of Zululand, he was the equal of the Governor of Natal; and that, as he did not interfere with the institutions of the colony, he was not disposed on his part to tolerate foreign interference. The jurists who lately contended that Asiatic potentates were entitled to the pro-

tection of international law may perhaps hold that an African chief is equally exempted from violation of his independent sovereignty.

The HIGH COMMISSIONER and the local administrators in South Africa are of an entirely opposite opinion. To them the recognition of technical equality among Powers essentially unequal is a pernicious fiction; and the right of CETEWAYO or any other savage chief to do what he will with his own is subject to the contingency that he may at any time meddle with the affairs of his neighbours. If Zululand were separated from the English possessions by an impenetrable barrier of mountain or sea, his mode of governing his own subjects would concern colonial Governments as little as the not dissimilar customs of Dahomey or Ashantee; but his despotism and cruelty are subsidiary to his main object of maintaining an army which before the English invasion had no intelligible purpose except to invade either Natal or the Transvaal whenever it might suit his purpose. In one of his latest communications CETEWAYO reproduces his ancient grievance that he had been vexatiously prevented by the Government of Natal from "washing his spears." It is not surprising that Sir BARTLE FREERE should infer that the peaceable professions which he sometimes makes are not to be more implicitly believed than similar declarations of some European Powers. It is not known that any civilized Government has of late years candidly expressed a wish to wash its spears, or, in more civilized language, to try its breechloaders. The effect on Zulu policy of an unexpected triumph must remain doubtful until further information is received. In default of a native insurrection in Natal, which appears not to have been seriously apprehended, Lord CHELMSFORD, who seems to have retired beyond the Tugela, will be strong enough to repel invasion. He had some time since established a fortified port at the mouth of the river; and the commander of the naval forces will co-operate with his movements. It is possible that CETEWAYO may have ingenuity enough to understand that the success which he at first achieved will eventually prove to be a doubtful boon. He is consciously unable to calculate the resources of the great country beyond the sea, which will, as he is probably aware, be applied without stint in reparation of the recent failure. If it is true that reinforcements from Mauritius and even from India are on their way to Natal, the enemy will be puzzled and alarmed by the arrival of troops from opposite quarters. The forces which are now under orders in England ought alone to suffice for the emergency. In three or four weeks the English General will dispose of an army twice as strong as that with which he thought it prudent to enter the enemy's country. The war has the inconvenience of being waged against an adversary with whom it will be difficult to make a treaty. CETEWAYO, though he may not be dethroned, must be reduced to a state of dependence; and, above all, he must be compelled to disband his army. If it is true that all the able-bodied men in the country serve in the ranks, it must be difficult to fill up vacancies caused by war. It will also be necessary to retrieve the failure of the expedition against SECOCOENI, who will probably have been encouraged by the success of his superior chief.

Events have shown that Sir BARTLE FREERE had not exaggerated the greatness of the danger which, notwithstanding the doubts and warnings of the SECRETARY OF STATE, he regarded as imminent. It is still difficult to understand why he should in several public documents have vindicated his conduct by arguments which were remote from the reasons which determined his course. Neither a single violation of English territory nor the misgovernment of the Zulu KING justified a war which may, nevertheless, have been politic and necessary. The merits of the case will be best understood by those who have industry to study the Correspondence, not only on the immediate issue of war and peace, but on the disputes which are constantly arising when white settlers come into contact with natives. In a rude state of society power naturally devolves on those who have more ability and vigour than their neighbours. In Pondoland great influence is exercised by the widow of a missionary who has made the country her home. In a wider sphere Sir THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE has long controlled uncivilized tribes by force of character united with sympathetic knowledge of their customs and feelings. It is only since the annexation of the Transvaal that the Zulu KING re-

gards the ADMINISTRATOR as an enemy. The frontier officers will for the present find their task more arduous, as the pretensions and audacity of every native chief will be increased by the success of the Zulus; but there is fortunately little concert among the petty potentates. All questions as to the permanent defence of the South African colonies must be for the present adjourned. Sir BARTLE FREERE refers with grateful satisfaction to the measures of his Ministers at the Cape, who, by providing for the defence of their own colony, have released all the QUEEN'S troops for service at the seat of war. The inhabitants of Natal are still more urgently required to contribute to the protection of the province.

#### THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

THE new gathering of Parliament for the despatch of business has been marked at its opening by a curious incident. The despatch of business has been wholly suspended by an attempt to facilitate it. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER thought it advisable to clear the way by inducing the House to adopt a number of rules intended to make business go on more quickly and smoothly; but the House evidently does not like the rules, and prefers to do its business in its old way. The discussion has hitherto been directed entirely to the first of these proposed rules. This referred to the discussion of any subject of any nature on the motion that the Speaker leave the chair on the House going into Committee of Supply. This was considered by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER to give far too great a latitude to miscellaneous conversation interrupting the proper examination of the Estimates; and he accordingly moved on Monday his first resolution, which was that whenever the Committee of Supply or the Committee of Ways and Means stands as the first order of the day on Monday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the chair without putting any question. The House has in past years adopted resolutions pointing in the same direction, but not going nearly so far. In 1872 and in 1873 it was resolved that, in going into Committee of Supply, no question should be put unless, on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates, amendments were moved relating to the division of the Estimates proposed then to be considered. The present Ministry did not, when it came into office, think proper to have this resolution renewed; but in 1876 it was revived for the Session of that year, with the modification that amendments could be moved not only on the first, but on all subsequent occasions when the House went into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates. The new rule was, therefore, more stringent than that of 1872, and far more stringent than that of 1876. It also applied to the Committee of Ways and Means, as well as to the Committee of Supply; but this part of the proposal was at once abandoned by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, on an appeal being made to him. He also, at the suggestion of Lord HARTINGTON, limited the operation of the rule to the case when the ordinary estimates of the services were to be discussed, so that it should not apply on special occasions, such as that when the credit of six millions was asked for. The proposed rule as thus shaped was the subject of long and animated discussion on Thursday night, and ultimately the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER gave up his rule, and proposed to return to the rule of 1872. Lord HARTINGTON stated that he preferred the rule of 1876, the difference being, as above stated, that amendments relative to the Estimates would be permitted by the earlier rule on the first occasion only, and by the later rule on all occasions of going into Supply. Thus at the end matters were in the strange position that the Conservative leader wished for the rule invented by a Liberal Government; the Liberal leader wished for the rule invented by a Conservative Government; and unofficial members wished for no rule at all.

Questions, however, of very considerable importance were at the bottom of this discussion of technicalities. No one can deny that it is one of the first duties of the Government to frame its Estimates properly, to let them be subjected to fair criticism, and to get them passed when the House can attend to them. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for the Government to discharge this



duty in anything like a complete manner as matters now stand. No one knows at what hour the discussion of the Estimates will begin. The hours that were expected to be devoted to it pass by while the attention of the House is being directed to the various motions of various members; and either the Estimates are taken at an hour when every one is wearied to death and criticism becomes impossible, or they stand over, and then are hurried through at the fag end of the Session, when nothing can be thought of except the fate and shape of Government measures. Votes on account have accordingly to be taken, in order that the financial business of the departments may not come to a standstill, and the national money is thus voted away without the House of Commons exercising any supervision over its outgoing. This cannot be right, and successive Governments have felt that it is not right, and have tried to devise a remedy; and at first sight it certainly seems strange that it should be the Government that implores the House to study and check the Estimates, and the House that wishes that the Estimates should not be studied and should not be checked. But the power of raising any questions that specially interest them or their constituents is very precious in the eyes of private members. They do not like, and very properly do not like, that the leaders on the front benches should settle everything between them. They wish to assert their own position as having the right to criticize and suggest, and no doubt they may also wish to secure an opportunity of heightening their personal importance, but generally with the aim of keeping Parliament alive as the exponent of the feelings, the ideas, and the grumbings of the nation, and preventing it becoming a piece of official machinery. They have, indeed, other opportunities offered to them of carrying out their purpose, but they set special store by the opportunity offered by going into Committee of Supply. Friday night is nominally their own; but then it is too much their own. As the Government is not interested in their projects or fancies, it leaves them to themselves. Each private member is interested in his own motion, but is quite indifferent to the motion of his fellows, and so the House only meets to be counted out. When Supply is to be discussed private members are in a much more comfortable position. As the Government wants to get the Estimates forward, it must keep a House while preliminary motions are being discussed, and no preliminary motion can be said to be irrelevant. For, according to the old maxim, grievances precede Supply, and no one knows what a grievance is sufficiently well to pronounce that anything alleged to be a grievance is not one. The maxim is now a pure anachronism. It meant formerly what it does not mean now. But it serves a purpose now, although that purpose is a new one. Through it, and through the necessity of a House being kept on Supply nights, private members know that there are occasions when they must be heard, whatever they may wish to say.

Both the rule of 1872 and the rule of 1876 invade this privilege of private members. It may even be said that they agree in abrogating it. For, instead of allowing a preliminary discussion on any subject whatever, disguised under the cover of a discussion of grievances, they confine this discussion to questions relevant to the Estimates that are going to be discussed. If either rule were adopted, private members would lose their special opportunity of having any subject discussed which they seek to bring into prominence, and would be left very much to their Fridays and their mournful anticipation of addressing a few words to the Speaker and the reporters, and then being made to go home and keep their eloquence, their wrongs, and their suggestions to themselves. If only amendments relevant to the Estimates are to be raised, there is no other question for the House to determine than that of the best method of discussing Estimates. The truth is that the House feels itself incompetent to discuss the Estimates in detail. Any member who tries to raise an objection is overwhelmed by the technical knowledge of the representatives of departments, and by the intricacy with which one item dovetails into another. It has often been suggested, and it was proposed by Mr. DILLWYN on Tuesday, that what the House and single members cannot do, a Committee should do. But the proposal met with no favour, and was especially condemned by Mr. LOWE, who asserted that

a Committee would always be more facile than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that the Chancellor, who now has some motive to withstand applications for public money, as he may fear that the Ministry, if too extravagant, will become unpopular, would be inclined to refer these applications to the Committee, which, like the House itself, would be always inclined to extravagance, and would have no popularity to lose. A general persuasion has thus grown up that the only effectual mode of criticizing the Estimates is to raise questions as to the general principles which underlie groups of items. It is possible occasionally to do this with some effect; and even if Ministers successfully defend, as they generally do defend, the principles on which the Estimates are framed, yet there may be a sufficient indication of the opinion of the House to cause a modification in the principles adopted in the Estimates of another year. If this is to be the real form of criticizing the Estimates, it may be said to be natural and expedient that these preliminary discussions of principles should not only precede, but should be marked off from, the discussion of details, and that this is best effected by the discussions taking place before the Speaker leaves the chair. The rule of 1876 gives opportunity for more of these preliminary discussions, and the rule of 1872 for fewer, but that is the only difference between them. The effect of another proposal made by Lord HARTINGTON would lie in quite another direction. This proposal was that the general discussions which now take place on going into Supply should take place on the report. This is to return to the maxim of grievances before Supply, and to allow the exercise of the present privilege of private members, but to curtail it. The proposal may probably not meet with general acceptance; for the Government wishes to abolish the privilege, and private members do not wish it to be curtailed. But, at any rate, it serves to keep before the House that it has to settle two quite distinct questions—namely, whether the privilege of starting and discussing anything technically called a grievance is to be retained, and, if not, what practically is the best and most effectual way of criticizing the Estimates.

#### RUSSIAN APOLOGISTS.

THE Foreign Office continues to issue miscellaneous correspondence on Turkish affairs. Some of the papers may perhaps hereafter furnish materials for history, though most of the information which they convey had been anticipated. A separate publication is devoted to the reports of the Austrian Military Attaché on the Rhodope atrocities. One of the most unscrupulous of partisans had asserted that the Austrian delegate had withheld his signature from the general report because he was not satisfied with the evidence. That officer, in a separate report to his own superiors, says that it is easy to observe on the spot how much the reports of the Consuls fall short of the truth. In another document he states that the Mussulman fugitives had alleged, "with startling unanimity, that the murderers and plunderers were Russian soldiers. Repeatedly the declaration was made that 'the Russians had fired with cannon on defenceless women and children, as was the case near Hermanli.'" In the next paragraph he significantly remarks that, "as President I had to take especial care that the 'action of the Committee should not, as the Russian 'delegate proposed, be interrupted.'" In a report to Sir H. LAYARD, Vice-Consul CALVERT, referring to an accusation which had been brought against him in Prince DONDOUKOFF KORSAKOFF's official journal, corrects a statement that he had charged the Russian and Bulgarian soldiers in a certain district with outrages on women by the remark that he had said nothing of Bulgarians. It is nevertheless clear that the Christian natives have revenged themselves on the Mahometans by the most revolting crimes. Competent witnesses declare that the atrocities committed since the war have far exceeded in number and brutality all the outrages which had been perpetrated during many years by the formerly dominant race. The Bulgarians seem, with the connivance of the Russians, to have justified to the best of their ability the caution of those European Governments which had hesitated to accelerate their liberation. Although the supremacy of the Turks may have been in itself objectionable, it was not the business of statesmen to give facility for reprisals.

The Duke of ARGYLL, in his powerful and passionate attack on the Eastern policy of the Government, contrasts the faithful record by the English Consular agents of the many instances of Turkish maladministration with the uniform bias in favour of Turkey which he attributes to the same functionaries. It is the business of political critics, though not perhaps of impetuous advocates, to account for supposed paradoxes as well as to record them. The good faith with which the Vice-Consuls supply ostensible arguments against their own practical conclusion is the best ground for relying on the impartiality and soundness of their judgment.

Of all the literary assailants of the Government, the Duke of ARGYLL is the most formidable; but he shares with many writers on the same side the error of proving too much. If it were possible that any capable critic should derive from the Duke of ARGYLL's work his exclusive knowledge of Eastern transactions, his first impression that the whole contention of the other party had been suppressed would be perfectly just. As the DUKE was himself in office during the Crimean war, he finds it necessary to reconcile the policy embodied in the Treaty of Paris with the unqualified hostility to the Turkish State and people which he blames the Government for not sharing with himself. Some energy is wasted in proving that the independence of the SULTAN as recognized in 1856 was only nominal, or at best provisional. The European Powers, while they disclaimed any right of interference in the domestic administration of his Empire, expressed in the demand of promises of reform an interest which might afterwards furnish reasons for intervention. The whole controversy is barren and useless. The independence of weak States is always in some degree fictitious, because powerful neighbours can, if they think fit, always exercise over them a certain control. The primary object of the allied Governments in concluding the Treaty of Paris was undoubtedly to secure the peace of Europe by placing obstacles in the way of Russian aggression. The Tripartite Treaty of England, France, and Austria had no other possible object; and the Duke of ARGYLL overstrains the astuteness of advocacy when he suggests that the document was limited by the supposed conditions of the general treaty. The immediate occasion of the Tripartite Treaty was the desire of Austria to provide security against Russian resentment by a close alliance with France and England. It suited the purpose of the principals in the war to encourage the overture, as it tended to impose an additional check on Russian ambition. It might perhaps have been expedient in 1875 or 1876 to reverse in all respects the policy of 1856; but it is idle to argue that Lord BEACONSFIELD departed from the policy of Lord PALMERSTON and Lord CLARENDON.

During the greater part of the interval the Duke of ARGYLL and his friends had been in office. As late as 1871 they were absolutely silent as to the conviction which they now imagine themselves to have formed, that it was proper to form an alliance with the malcontent subjects of the SULTAN rather than with his Government. In 1863 Lord PALMERSTON, in a letter to Baron BRUNNOW, expressed his regret at the beginning of the insurrection in Poland, because he foresaw that the Poles themselves would be the sufferers. He expressly added that he should otherwise regard the insurrection as a righteous judgment on the Russian Government for its encouragement of rebellion in Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. He told the Russian Ambassador that he could furnish him with a statement of the number of rifles which had been imported by Russian agents into Bosnia. His letter assuredly indicated no sympathy with conspiracies among the subject population against the authority of the SULTAN. The Duke of ARGYLL, who with Mr. GLADSTONE formed a little section of the Cabinet which was partially opposed to the PRIME MINISTER, may probably not have known at the time of the letter to Baron BRUNNOW; but he has since read it in Mr. ASHLEY's Life of Lord PALMERSTON, and he must always have known that the policy of the Cabinet was strongly accordant with the tone of the communication. It is true that from time to time the English Government remonstrated against the neglect of the Porte to redeem its pledges of reform. When it was the duty of Lord JOHN RUSSELL as Prime Minister to reprove a humble ally, it could not be doubted that he would use for the purpose the most contumelious and offensive phrases. Rightly or wrongly,

the English Government never deviated from the system of supporting Turkey against foreign ambition, and of endeavouring to diminish the causes of weakness which invited Russian aggression.

Further experience may show that the constitution of an independent Bulgarian Principality tends to promote the happiness of the majority of the inhabitants, though it has involved frightful hardships to the Mahometan part of the population. It is possible, and even probable, that when the force of the first reaction has spent itself, and when the Russian army is withdrawn, some trace of humanity and justice may be found even among the liberated Bulgarians; but the fact that some benefit had resulted from the Russian conquest would not prove retrospectively that prudent statesmen ought to have voluntarily overthrown the Turkish dominion. The dominant race was recognized and tolerated, not on account of its merits, but because it was in possession. For the same reasons the most urgent political need of the present moment is the complete execution of the Treaty of Berlin. It is easy to show that the arrangement has many defects; but it is the only security of peace, for the simple reason that it is paramount and final. Some stipulations which offered grave difficulties have been already performed. The Austrians have, at the cost of a not unimportant struggle, obtained possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the instances of the English AMBASSADOR and his agents induced the tribes in the neighbourhood of Batoum to abandon hopeless attempts at resistance to the Russian occupation; and the districts allotted to Montenegro have been peaceably transferred. It only remains to finish the organization of East Roumelia, and to settle the frontier of the Greek kingdom. After much hesitation the Russian Government has lately shown itself disposed to perform its engagements with good faith, and even Prince DONDUKOFF no longer openly intrigues for the annexation of East Roumelia to Bulgaria. The Porte is willing to make to Greece part of the cession of territory which was recommended, though not enacted, by the Congress. The representative of the Turkish Government on the Commission alleges that the proposed rectification of the frontier in Epirus would transfer to Greece a Mahometan population which desires to retain its present allegiance. As the French FOREIGN MINISTER, now President of the Council, has thought fit to interest himself in the Greek claims, this question also will probably be decided against Turkey. When the arrangements are completed, Russia may probably rest for some years before promoting fresh troubles.

#### EGYPT.

THE news from Egypt is sufficiently alarming to cause anxiety to those who are interested in the progress of the country. That, in consequence of a military revolt, the KHEDIVÉ should have taken on himself to dismiss NUBAR PASHA, and in doing so have disregarded the remonstrances of his English and French Ministers, shows that the new order of things rests as yet on an insecure foundation, and has awakened the suspicion that the whole proceeding was a device of the KHEDIVÉ himself to show that he could at any time upset the coach which so much trouble has been taken to induce him to set running. At the same time, it must be remembered that he was not under any international obligation to retain NUBAR PASHA, and, while maintaining his arrangements with England and France, he can appoint and dismiss his Egyptian Ministers as he pleases. At many points of the series of events and negotiations by which he has been led to accept European control, the KHEDIVÉ has suddenly shown himself in a combative or recalcitrant attitude, and then has as suddenly yielded. For the present, therefore, we may be content to ask how things are going on in Egypt without reference to this new crisis, the real import of which cannot be estimated as yet.

Much light is thrown on the general situation, and especially on the financial situation, of Egypt by the Report for the year 1878 of the Commissioners of the Public Debt, to whom is assigned a leading part in the experiment of reorganizing Egyptian administration under European control. This control is now exercised in three ways. There are the International Tribunals which enforce, or seek to enforce, the claims of



foreigners against the Government of the KHEDEVE. There is a Ministry, without which the KHEDEVE cannot do anything, and of which an Englishman and a Frenchman are permanent members. Lastly, there are special officials charged with the duty of seeing that the arrangements made with public creditors are respected. Putting aside the officials charged with the control or administration of the Dairas, the principal of these officials are the Commissioners of the Public Debt. There were also appointed in 1876 two Controllers-General, one of the receipts, and the other of the accounts of the State, an Englishman and a Frenchman respectively, who, in concert with one of the KHEDEVE's sons acting as Minister of Finance, exercised a general superintendence over the money affairs of Egypt. The new Ministry, however, appointed last year declined to take office unless this superintendence was given over entirely to them, and the functions of the two Controllers-General were accordingly suspended, and they are now added to the long list of European officials in Egypt who have salaries to draw but no work to do. As the work of reorganization has proceeded piecemeal and to meet the special wants of the day, it is not surprising that its framework is always being recast. Although, for example, the office of the Controllers-General was practically abolished, the Ministry felt that their Budget ought to be submitted to an independent audit; they accordingly invited one of the Commissioners of the Public Debt to act also as Auditor-General, and he accepted the invitation. Further, a general Commission was instituted last year to report on all the fundamental questions of Egyptian finance, and all the Commissioners of the Public Debt were placed on this Commission. Thus, in some respects, the controlling forces in Egypt work together; but they always remain independent, and sometimes become antagonistic. For instance, the Commissioners of the Public Debt are entitled to receive monthly statements as to the money on its way to them; but the Ministry of Finance did not, or would not, furnish these statements. The Commissioners brought an action before one of the International Tribunals, and obtained an order directing the rendering of these monthly statements. How such an order could be practically enforced no one seemed to know or care. Still there appears to be something awful and solemn in even an inoperative legal judgment, and the Commissioners relate with much satisfaction that they obtained it. The truth is, that the three controlling forces—that is, the Tribunals, the Ministry, and the Commissioners—all exist, all are necessary for the present, and all work with honourable zeal; but their respective functions are not as yet defined, and must undergo considerable modifications. The Egyptian Code is very defective, and the powers of the judges are theoretically much too large and practically much too small. For the five years during which the Tribunals are appointed to work this Code, the legislative power, which every country must possess if it is to be alive, is extinguished in Egypt, and the judges are placed by the vice of their position in an attitude of hostility to the Government, although the Government may be under the direction of the best of all possible Ministries.

The time will soon come for the revision of the Code and the re-appointment or reconstruction of the tribunals, and it is essential that the Code should be largely altered, and that the power of the Tribunals should be much more clearly defined, and should be restricted within the limits in which it can co-exist with the due discharge of its functions by the Government, and with the exercise of legislative power. Some alteration in the arrangements of the State with its creditors may also be necessary. It is in throwing light on the necessity of such an alteration that the chief value of this Report consists. Besides the payment of the tribute and the interest of the purchase money of the Suez Canal shares, the Commissioners have to make payment of what is due on the short loans, of which only two and a half millions now remain outstanding, and which will be rapidly extinguished by the Moukabala receipts, on the Preference and on the Unified debt. The Preference debt is so amply secured that no great attention need be paid to it. Its primary security is the profit of the railways, and although last year the receipts from this source left a deficit of 300,000*l.*, half of this sum was due to the falling off of the grain traffic in consequence of an exceptional drought, and as the deficit has to be made good out of the general receipts of the Commissioners

before anything is paid to the holders of the Unified debt, and the deficit cannot possibly amount to more than a very small portion of these receipts, the Preference debt is as well secured as anything can be in Egypt, and no one dreams of reducing the amount of its interest or of lessening its securities. The critical point is reached when we come to the Unified debt. This debt now amounts to 56,000,000*l.*, and carries an interest of six per cent., and a sinking fund ought to be added, but has now been suspended. For the interest alone 3,360,000*l.* is wanted. To provide for the payment due on the Unified debt certain revenues have been specially assigned to the Commissioners, and in 1878 these revenues, after providing for the deficit on the Preference debt, yielded 2,450,000*l.* What is wanted beyond has to be provided by the State; and if the sinking fund is added to the interest, the amount which the State ought to have provided in 1878 was 1,480,000*l.* It is notorious that it has not hitherto met the payments required for the Unified debt out of ordinary and legitimate resources. Taxes have been anticipated to meet coupons, and the last coupon could not have been paid unless a part of the new ROTHSCHILD loan had been used for the purpose.

In the first place, it is to be observed that the year 1878 was a bad one in Egypt, drought having been followed by floods. In the next place, the Commissioners insist very strongly and in great detail on the fact that the whole revenues assigned to them do not pass into their hands, the Government making certain unauthorized deductions for local administration and taking payment to some extent in acknowledgments of indebtedness, which, when paid off, are not accounted for. The amount, too, which had to be paid on account of the Preference debt was larger than it would be in an ordinary year. Therefore we may on the whole conclude from the Report that in an average year, with a normal amount of railway traffic, and with no deductions made, the assigned revenues would give 2,800,000*l.* per annum, or five per cent. on the Unified debt. This must, however, be taken subject to two limitations. These revenues are derived for the most part from special provinces. What is true of the rest of Egypt will probably be true of these provinces; and, as to the whole of Egypt, it is not as yet ascertained what the taxpayers can fairly be called on to pay to the State. The Commissioners state that they are still in the dark as to this, and it will only be after a long and minute inquiry that an opinion on this point can be formed. Then, again, the payments on account of the Moukabala will before long cease; and, when they cease—when, in short, a portion of the Land-tax has been redeemed—there must be a diminution of receipts from this source. If the figures given in Mr. CAVE's report are at all accurate, it would be prudent to allow 400,000*l.* per annum for the diminution in the Land-tax caused by the cessation of the Moukabala payments in the assigned provinces. On the other hand, in the seven years which have still to run before this diminution makes itself felt, a better Government ought to have made the assigned provinces richer, and more lands may have been brought into cultivation. The position of the holders of the Unified debt may therefore be said to be that they have got a cumbrous but vigorous system of control exercised in Egypt on their behalf, and that the special revenues assigned to them may be expected to give them something like five per cent. on their money. Can the State give them anything more, and, if so, how much towards the extra two per cent. which they ought to have? The Commissioners prudently abstain from giving any definite answer to the question; but they say enough to show that in their opinion the State cannot afford to pay all that the holders of the Unified debt can claim. There was a deficit of two millions sterling in the Budget of 1878, which was no doubt an exceptionally bad year; but still, even with a fairly good year, there would probably have been some deficit. Then Egypt has a floating debt which it cannot pay. This debt is nominally nine millions, but two millions may be deducted as being covered by special securities or owing to the KHEDEVE himself or members of his family. The ROTHSCHILD loan was intended to make a provision for the floating debt, but a part of its proceeds was appropriated to the payment of the last Unified coupon, and it cannot possibly suffice to pay off more than perhaps two-thirds of the floating debt. Reductions in expenditure will of course be made; but the great difficulty in making them is that

there is no money in hand to pay the arrears due to the officials discharged, and the danger of such a state of things has just been forcibly illustrated by the recent *émeute*. In calculating the future Budgets of Egypt it must be remembered also that the KHEDIVÉ, having given up the family lands, must have a larger Civil List to live on; that he has to fulfil his engagements to the creditors of the Daira Sanieh; and that, if the whole revenues of the assigned provinces are paid to the Commissioners, the Government must find from other sources the sums it has hitherto been accustomed to deduct. In order to put Egyptian finance on a sound footing, it appears necessary that the holders of the floating debt and those of the Unified debt should make some abatement in their claims. The difficulty is not to show this, nor even to induce all reasonable persons to acquiesce, but to point out how it can be done so as to be legally effectual. For dissentient creditors can always appeal to the International Tribunals, and those Tribunals only look to the letter of the contracts and give judgment for the full amount. The question of the financial reform of Egypt is therefore inextricably bound up with its judicial reform, and it will probably be found impossible to carry out the former, except in a tentative and faltering way, without also carrying out the latter.

#### THE BANKRUPTCY BILL.

THE CHANCELLOR'S Bankruptcy Bill may be described as a measure for retaining the present system of dealing with defaulting debtors, but weeding it of its abuses. At present there are two methods in which an insolvent may be treated by his creditors; he may be made a bankrupt, or he may escape the ignominy of bankruptcy by being allowed to compound with his creditors. The latter is the method of treatment which debtors naturally prefer, and which creditors, through supineness, good nature, or a calculation of their interests, are generally willing to sanction. It is around the working of this method that the frightful abuses which now call for the intervention of the Government have gradually sprung up. The chief of these abuses is that insolvency has lost all its terrors. Many men think no more of not paying their debts than of taking a trip to Brighton. A little friendly manœuvring is exercised in their behalf by persons who have made this curious art their profession, and they are completely whitewashed. They are at once released from the effects of the past without any inquiry into their conduct, and a future exactly like the past is immediately opened to them. Through the facilities thus opened to dishonest or reckless trading the national loss through bad debts has risen to the startling amount of eighteen millions per annum. The existence and profit by wrongdoing of the persons who work this system may rank next in the order of abuses. The person who manipulates the affair gets himself appointed trustee, and, when he is once appointed trustee, he does exactly what he pleases. He fixes his own remuneration, his accounts are never audited, he gives no security for proper administration, he keeps in his own hands as long as he likes the monies he collects. What he gains the creditor loses, and two shillings in the pound is the average dividend distributed to those who have placed him in a position to fleece them. In 1877 there were four-and-a-half millions of money in the hands of trustees who were entirely exempt from control. It may be thought surprising that creditors should acquiesce in a state of things so very mischievous to themselves. That they should be easily induced to give their sanction to their own loss is the third great abuse of the present system. They are isolated, they have each their own business to attend to, and the manipulator of the scheme can canvass and influence each separately. In order to increase their impotence, the manipulator is allowed by the present law to have the proceedings carried on in any place where the insolvent has traded; so that if a Bristol trader has, for a few months before his impending collapse actually arrives, been adroit enough to open a small shop at Newcastle, all the bankruptcy proceedings may be carried on hundreds of miles away from the place where the bulk of his creditors reside. What are these remote and forlorn people to do? The canvasser arrives, paints the sorrows of the poor good defaulter, and earnestly insists that the best thing for all parties is that no court

should interfere, and that the money that can be got in should be paid over to every claimant by an honest, independent person like the canvasser himself. All that is needed is that a proxy shall be signed by the creditor in favour of the canvasser. The canvasser gets his proxies signed and goes away triumphant, calls sham meetings, votes for himself, and passes at once into the luxurious and lucrative indolence of uncontrolled trusteeship.

These are the principal evils of the present system, and the CHANCELLOR'S Bill deals with them one after another. All proceedings against a defaulting debtor are to begin in the same way, whether he is ultimately made a bankrupt or liquidates by arrangement. The Court will take the initiative, and make a provisional order securing the property of the debtor, and directing a meeting of the creditors to be held. This is to be a meeting for the general investigation of the bankrupt's affairs. The bankrupt will attend and explain his conduct and position. After hearing him the creditors may decide that further investigation is necessary, or they may decide to make the debtor a bankrupt, or they may decide to liquidate by arrangement. Over these proceedings the Court will exercise a control. It will decide whether and in what cases proxies shall be allowed, and will take care that the proceedings are conducted in the place most convenient to the creditors. If an arrangement by composition is decided on, then the CHANCELLOR proposes that the debtor shall not be released under it unless a minimum dividend of five shillings in the pound is paid to the creditors. Of all the proposals of the Bill this is perhaps the best and the most effectual. It strikes at the root of the system of sham insolvencies. Two shillings, and even one shilling, in the pound is the ordinary dividend under the present system. The creditors will obviously never consent to a proposal for arrangement by composition unless the debtor, at the meeting for preliminary investigation, can show good grounds for estimating that his estate will pay at least five shillings in the pound. At present experience proves that in seventy-five per cent. of arrangements by composition less than five shillings in the pound is paid, and thus the debtors who will henceforth escape bankruptcy will be persons who will have at least shown themselves more prudent and trustworthy than three-fourths of the general class of insolvents. Further, if during the course of the proceedings the creditors see reason to think that the debtor deserves a less considerate mode of treatment, they may at any time agree to rescind the deed of composition and make the defaulter a bankrupt. Next it may be said that the whole position of the trustee is changed. He is to be appointed, not by the general body of creditors, but by a committee of investigation; and if he has canvassed for his appointment, all remuneration is to be denied him. If, after he has been appointed, the creditors do not like him, they may remove him. His remuneration is to be limited by a maximum, and at the end of a year he must pay into court all he has received. His accounts will be audited, and for every farthing he receives he will be responsible to the Controller in Bankruptcy. In short, the sweet career of the canvassing manipulator is at an end. Lastly, in order that creditors may know exactly what they are doing, they will themselves have to sign the deed of composition, and will no longer be bound by the mere resolution of a meeting; and if the Court finds that the deed has been improperly obtained, it may set it aside.

Similar provisions are to be enacted as to the supervision of the trustee when bankruptcy has been decided on; and in a separate Bill the CHANCELLOR deals with the punishment of criminal acts for which the bankrupt may have made himself liable. If, again, the bankrupt has been guilty of reckless trading or extravagance, or has not kept his books properly, the Court may suspend the order of discharge. Further, all offences of a criminal kind not amounting to felonies are to be tried and punished by the Court itself. The Court has thus very large powers and very onerous duties, and it is proposed to entrust them to a new judge, who will rank as one of the judges of the High Court of Justice. Out of London bankruptcy proceedings will, as at present, be conducted by the County Court judges; but any case may, by the desire of the parties or the direction of the inferior Court, be transferred to the superior Court in London. The new judge is to be a person distinguished by his mastery of commercial law, and thus one of the suggestions of the merchants has been adopted nearly in the form in which it was made



Their other suggestion, that the new judge should also have control over all proceedings in the liquidation of Companies, has not been adopted by the CHANCELLOR, for reasons which he promises hereafter to disclose. One obvious reason is that the new judge will in all probability have his time fully occupied with proceedings in bankruptcy. He will have not only to perform his strictly judicial functions, but to keep his eye fixed on the vast insolvent world generally, and this will be a very laborious task. When it is added that the whole law of bankruptcy is consolidated in the new Bill, the outline of the CHANCELLOR'S scheme is completed, and the impression produced by this outline is in the highest degree satisfactory. The merits of the scheme must, indeed, in a great degree depend on the choice of the new judge, and on his vigilance and acuteness. But the CHANCELLOR habitually takes a sanguine view of the competence of courts. On a subsequent evening he informed the Lords that he had carefully examined the statements submitted to him as to the alleged blocks in the Courts of Law. He has come to the conclusion that there is no block that deserves the name; and, so far as it is true that the superior judges have more cases submitted to them than they can deal with, he thinks he can cure the evil by raising the amount of claims within the compulsory jurisdiction of the County Courts from 50*l.* to 200*l.* If the change throws more work on the County Court judges than they can be fairly asked to get through, nothing, he thinks, can be easier than to appoint new ones perfectly competent to do County Court work. This view of the County Court judges and this proposed increase in their powers may be reserved for discussion until the proposal which the CHANCELLOR indicated has been formally made.

#### MR. BALFOUR AND BURIALS.

THE Burials controversy would be much simplified if both parties to it would consent to realize the fact that, apart from the practical policy of minimizing its area by closing churchyards and opening cemeteries, there is no middle term between the *status in quo* and absolute surrender. The claim on one side is urged in the name of religious freedom, and is based upon the allegation that the churchyards are national property; while the party bidden to capitulate and evacuate replies that, whatever colour of equity might have attached to the demand some years ago, those who now press it have deliberately contracted themselves out of any right to urge it. They have taken their pay not to do a certain thing, and now, with the money in their pockets, they repudiate the engagement, and press on for the accomplishment of those projects for which they have got their compensation. It is wearisome to be continually reverting to the same not very old story. Still, so long as the Burials question occupies Parliament, we must continue to remind the public that, when the Dissenters demanded and Churchmen conceded the abolition of compulsory Church-rates, the churchyards passed into the undisputed possession of the latter, subject to the double liability of having to keep them up at their own cost, and of being still compelled to find room in them for the bodies of those who had while living saved their own pockets at the cost of their still contributory fellow-citizens. The situation was very simple; the Churchman paid and buried, the Dissenter repudiated and was interred. This commonsense way of looking at the matter would reduce the present strategy of both sides to elementary principles—that of pegging away by the Liberationists and of holding on by their opponents. Whether they win or lose at last, Churchmen have to fight under the conviction that no compromise could give them anything which they would care to retain; while defeat, however absolute, would leave them in possession of their consistency and their honour, ready to adapt themselves to the new state of things and untrammelled by any entangling engagements. This position—taking results at the worst—would be not only intelligible, but respectable, which is more than can be assumed as self-evident by the other side so long as it remains under the imputation of having successively pocketed the compensation and the thing for which that compensation had been given.

Less than two years elapsed between the pecuniary settlement involved in the abolition of compulsory Church-rates and its repudiation by the Liberation Society. According to the frank confession of Mr. CARVELL

WILLIAMS, the secretary and fighting-man of what he himself pronounces to be an agitation, "It was then resolved by the advocates of religious equality that the agitation should henceforth assume the form, not of an occasional attack, but of a regular siege; that the political strength which had already successfully assailed other ecclesiastical monopolies and disabilities, should be brought to bear on the restrictions imposed on burials in English churchyards. The Bill introduced by Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN (in 1870), as a consequence of this resolve, was the most decisive measure of the kind which had yet been proposed." The ultimate object of the agitation is, according to the prospectus of the Society which enjoys the services of Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, "The application to secular uses, after an equitable satisfaction of existing interests, of the national property now devoted to the uses of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; and, concurrently therewith, the liberation of those Churches from State control." Comparing these two passages—not to encumber our pages with a cartload of even more outspoken proclamations—the conclusion is irresistible that the avowed intention of the series of measures of which Mr. MORGAN'S Bill is only the first and mildest instalment is the confiscation of church, glebe, and tithe, no less than of churchyard.

We find the most convincing arguments in support of the opposition to Mr. BALFOUR'S compromise now before Parliament in the quarter which is now, as ever, foremost in the advocacy of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN'S policy. The *Times*, moralizing on the fate of Mr. BALFOUR'S Bill, observes that "the opportuneness of Mr. BALFOUR'S action lies in this—that he proposes to seize the moment when a Conservative majority may still prevail to fix the conditions on which the churchyard should be thrown open." This is plausible enough; but the *Times* with stupendous naïveté adds that it may indeed be replied, "that though the conditions and reservations embodied in Mr. BALFOUR'S Bill would have been kept now, they would in all probability be repealed the next time a wave of Liberalism gave the Liberal party a majority in the House of Commons. We may frankly say that this result would not be unacceptable in our eyes." In less dignified language this means, as addressed to Churchmen, "Dilly, dilly, come and be killed." Their answer is that instead of surrendering the dignity and consistency of their position in return for concessions which, as they are assured, the next wave of Liberalism is sure to sweep away, they prefer to retain dignity and consistency and not to lean for a few years on the broken reed of illusory limitations. At the same time they cannot, and will not, make a capitulation. If in time to come Mr. MORGAN and the Liberation Society are destined to prevail, on them shall rest the whole discredit of a greedy policy.

It would be waste of time to dwell at any length upon the details of that delicate bantling, Mr. BALFOUR'S Bill. It stands self-condemned by the single fact that it is based upon the principle of revocable concession. After drawing an untenable distinction between parish churchyards more or less than fifty years old, and between those more or less than three miles from a cemetery, it enacts in regard to the two former categories that they are to be open to all kinds of "solemn and Christian" burial-services, conducted so as to be "agreeable with the usages of the religious society" to which the deceased belonged (thereby irritating the Jew and the secularist, and dissatisfying the Dissenter, who refuses to have the idea of any usages thrust between him and his freedom), until somebody gives the parish a cemetery, on which event they are to revert to the exclusive use of the Church. The whole drift of modern legislation calls out against such a principle. But in this case the proposal is not only vicious in its essence, but it involves a fatal disturbance of sound practical policy. The one good thing hitherto got out of the troubles of the Burials controversy is that people's eyes have been opened to the evils of crowded cemeteries, and that even those persons who were most susceptible to the conservatism of sentiment have come to understand that, in view of greater mischief on the other side, the trouble, expense, and soreness of feeling involved in the substitution of cemeteries for churchyards must be faced. Mr. BALFOUR, if he carried his Bill, would absolutely succeed in forcing the Liberation Society to take up crowded churchyards as a plank of its platform, and raise the cry of "liberty and typhus." He deserves, at all events, the praise of originality for having been able to present legislation in so grotesque a guise.

With such a proposal gravely submitted for the acceptance of Parliament, we cannot be angry with Mr. MORGAN and his friends for the intention which they announced of voting for the second reading of Mr. BALFOUR's Bill, in the expectation of sweeping away its fantastic restrictions, not upon the recurrence of the next wave of Liberalism, but so soon as the Bill got into Committee. Supposing the House of Commons to assent to the second reading, an assembly which had stultified itself by accepting so incongruous a patchwork could have only opposed a feeble and desultory resistance to the most extravagant amendments. Anyhow, the candour of Mr. MORGAN's confession leaves those members without excuse who proposed to vote with Mr. BALFOUR by way of compromising the matter. They would only have been voting for Mr. MORGAN, and ultimately therefore for the secularization of all Church property.

Mr. BALFOUR used one argument which was so peculiar that we cannot pass it over quite unnoticed. The English law of burial, so he informed the House, was not understood in Scotland or Ireland, where a different system prevails, and accordingly the people of those two countries believed the prevailing sentiment in England to be the "insanity of intolerance"; and, as he contended, because Scotland and Ireland were ignorant and mistaken, therefore the conclusions of Scotland and Ireland, which had no interest in the matter, were to prevail over the well-informed opinion of England, where the question was one of practical importance. This bold contention was all the more judicious and logical in view of the fact that, while the majority against Mr. MORGAN in the Session of 1878 was only fifteen, the minority was largely swelled by votes from uninformed and uninterested Scotland and Ireland, while the majority of English members only was no less than 101. This fact does not at all reconcile us to the pernicious theory of Home Rule, but we must note that in the only case where our Imperial system seems to have pressed hardly on one member of the Empire, the aggrieved country was England.

#### FRENCH PARTIES.

THE position of the French Ministry cannot yet be regarded as assured. The hope that the Republican majority would become homogeneous as soon as Marshal MACMAHON had retired has not been fulfilled. Indeed, it was hardly possible that it should be fulfilled. A mass which has not been kept together by external pressure will hardly be more coherent when that external pressure has been removed. So long as Marshal MACMAHON remained at the head of affairs he, at least, did the Republic the service of making prudence and moderation obviously useful qualities. Even then the Extreme Left usually forgot to practise the lesson whenever things had gone quietly for six months; but, at all events, the MARSHAL was there to recall them at intervals to a better appreciation of these unpopular virtues. Now that the MARSHAL is gone there is no such possibility in the background. M. GRÉVY may disapprove of Radical measures, should they be submitted to him by his Ministers; he may even resign office rather than promulgate them; but he will not be the author of a *coup d'état*. Consequently the one fear which seemed to have much influence on the Extreme Left is completely laid to rest, and it remains to be seen whether any other motive will have at all a similar influence on their actions. Why, they will say, should we support the present Ministry? It is not a Ministry of our choosing; we are not represented in it; we do not like the measures it brings forward; we see no chance of its ever bringing forward any measures that we should like. What possible claim, therefore, can it put forward to our good will? and why should our votes be given where our good will is withheld?

These are questions which it is not at all easy to answer, nor are we at all sure that it is of much importance that they should be answered. There was a time when union in the Republican party was essential to the existence of the Republic, but that time came to an end when the administration of the Republic ceased to be in the hands of its enemies. From that time forward union in the sense of party organization became unattainable. The Republic used to be little more than a party within the nation. Now it is for practical purposes co-extensive with the nation; and the necessary

consequence of this is that the divisions which used to exist within the nation may be expected to reproduce themselves within the Republican party. There is nothing to retain men as Conservative as M. DUFAURE and men as Radical as M. NAQUET within the same party limits. So long as they both wanted Republican government they might agree to put all considerations aside; but now that they have got Republican government, why should not each labour to get it administered after the fashion that he likes best? Union can be no longer maintained, except at the cost of surrender on the part of one or the other. Either the moderate party must give up what they think it essential to preserve, or the extreme party must give up working for what they think it essential to obtain. Nothing but dissatisfaction would be likely to come of such a compromise as this. It could breed nothing but mutual distrust and constant uneasiness. The fact that the Republic does embrace men of very different views, and that the word Republican implies nothing more than an opinion about a form of government, without any necessary agreement as to the objects which that Government should propose to itself, cannot be ignored any longer, and nothing is gained by trying to conceal it.

There is an important section of the Left which does not reconcile itself to this necessity. What is the need, it asks, of destroying the majority which has done so much for the Republic? A wise Government will rather do everything in its power to keep it together. It is the union of the several sections of the Left that has placed it in power, and it is to this same union that it should naturally and properly look for the support which is to keep it in power. It is mere Anglo-mania to wish to reproduce in the majority the division into Whigs and Tories. The circumstances of the two cases are altogether distinct. Parties in England have only each other to reckon with. There is no third party, hostile to the institutions under which it lives, and watching its opportunity to overturn them. This is the language of the *République Française*, and, but for one drawback, the argument would be entitled to great weight. This one drawback, however, is of a very serious kind. It is simply this—that the section of the Left which employs the argument is not in the least disposed to make the sacrifices necessary to make it applicable. Union between an advanced and a moderate party necessarily lasts but for a time, and while it lasts it necessarily depends for its maintenance on the forbearance of the advanced party. The moment that any specific change, whether constitutional or administrative, comes to be regarded by this party as indispensable, the motive for union no longer exists. That motive is always the conviction on both sides that the points upon which they are agreed are of more importance than the points upon which they differ. When some point upon which they differ becomes, in the estimation of the advanced party, of such paramount moment that it must be secured at any cost, the moderate party has nothing to gain by keeping up an unreal appearance of union. It would, in fact, be no longer a union; it would be a surrender. The position of the two parties in this respect is in no way identical. The advanced party, believing the future to be with it, has only to wait for the accomplishment of its end. The moderate party, existing as in a great measure it does to prevent the accomplishment of that end, can only co-operate with the advanced party on condition that this accomplishment is put aside while the co-operation lasts. When this condition is broken, it is plainly better for the moderate party to withdraw such strength as it can from the advanced party than to increase the strength of the advanced party after it has ascertained that this strength is to be used for purposes which it disapproves. The application of this rule to the French Left is obvious enough. The several sections of the party have hitherto been of one mind. They all wished to set the Republic firmly on its legs, and for a long time it took all their strength to do what they wished. Now the Republic is established, and the next question that presents itself is in what spirit it shall be governed. The moderate Left say, With as little change as possible; the advanced Left say, With a great deal of change, and especially with a complete change in such and such particulars. This is a very fair issue to raise, and it will be for the country to decide at the next general election which of the two views it wishes to see prevail. But the men who think certain



specific measures indispensable, and the men who think these alleged indispensable measures mischievous, cannot continue to work together. That is an object that can only be attained by the advanced party ceasing to think these measures indispensable, and consenting to postpone their execution. They may be quite right in refusing to make this sacrifice, but the union they want to preserve is plainly to be had on no other terms.

It may be objected that this reasoning leaves out of sight the existence in France of a reactionary party waiting to take advantage of Republican mistakes. Disunion in the majority will give this party an advantage, and it is consequently the duty of the moderate party to yield to the advanced party, provided that this is the only condition on which disunion can be averted. The general answer to this argument is that, if this process is once begun, there is no reason why it should ever stop. The advanced party would only have to hold out the threat of separation, and the moderate party must at once do its bidding. This is not union; it is unconditional submission. As regards France, moreover, there is a particular answer also. The Moderate Left are persuaded, rightly or wrongly, that the country, while sincerely attached to Republican institutions, is at the same time sincerely desirous that they should be administered in a strictly Conservative spirit. Consequently, what it will look for in its representatives is a determination to resist all attempts at administering these institutions in a Radical spirit; and, if it fails to find this determination in the Republican majority, it will be tempted to look for it in the reactionary minority. From this point of view few things could be more disastrous for the prospects of the Republic than the maintenance of union in the majority on the terms proposed by the advanced section of it. The whole majority would thus come to be regarded as infected with Radical ideas, and at a future general election the reactionary candidates would be enabled to present themselves as the only exponents of a Conservative policy.

#### THE IRISH FRANCHISE DEBATE.

THE debate on the Irish Borough Franchise was unsatisfactory; and the division was a mere test of the strength of parties. If it were possible to estimate the sincerity of votes, it would probably appear that all the members of the majority thought the proposed extension of the franchise a bad thing, and that half the minority agreed with them; but almost all the opponents of Mr. MELDON'S Resolution, with the exception of Mr. LEWIS, hesitated to express their real opinions. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE evidently intended to reserve to his Government the right of bidding for popularity at any future time by a concession which, however mischievous in itself, would be consistent with the legislation of 1867. When a Minister objects to a Resolution because it is not a Bill, and to a project of legislation because it is fragmentary, he probably foresees contingencies in which it may be expedient to change his course without a compromise of his consistency. Mr. FORSTER has earnestly supported every extension of the franchise which has been proposed in his time, and he would perhaps, like Mr. GLADSTONE, approve of universal suffrage. So ingenious a reasoner had no difficulty in finding special arguments for a conclusion which he would have accepted on general grounds. There are, according to Mr. FORSTER, three ways of dealing with Ireland; by identification of English and Irish institutions, by a deliberate maintenance of inequality, and by the method of Home Rule or insular independence. It follows, according to a certain kind of logic, that Liberal members who are not supporters of Home Rule must vote for the same borough franchise in Ireland which already exists in Great Britain. Symmetrical demonstrations produce little effect on the minds of serious politicians, but they provide a party with plausible reasons for concluding a profitable alliance. The Liberal leaders, who have lately repeatedly made overtures to the Home Rule members, eagerly welcomed an opportunity of showing sympathy with the proselytes whom they hope to win. Mr. FORSTER, with creditable candour, included in his statement of reasons for lowering the Irish borough franchise his well-known desire to extend household suffrage over the entire kingdom. Mr. LEWIS had pointed out the probability

that, if Mr. MELDON'S Resolution were adopted, every cottager in Ireland would probably in a short time become a voter. Mr. FORSTER welcomed the cheerful prospect of a constituency which might perhaps at some future time become competent to discharge its duties.

The mischief of household suffrage in Irish boroughs would not be great, although it might be unmixd. It was stated in the course of the debate that ten or twelve Conservative members, probably of respectable character, would lose their seats; and a few Liberal members would be turned out to make room for more violent and less responsible successors. Mr. LEWIS said that the Protestants of Ireland would be deprived of representation, inasmuch as the lowest class in the boroughs almost always belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. He added that the influence of the priests would be proportionally increased; and Mr. FORSTER, while he doubted the accuracy of the conjecture, remarked that the influence of the priests was always used to promote family union, thrift, and morality. That it is also frequently applied to the encouragement of disaffection and of agrarian spoliation is a fact not inconsistent with the encouragement of domestic virtues. The private morality of the Irish people and of the Roman Catholic clergy has not been disputed; but Parliamentary electors are concerned with politics rather than with ethics. The householders of Irish boroughs would prefer a Home Rule candidate to a supporter of national unity; and, among those who nominally belong to the same section, Mr. BUTT would have no chance against Mr. PARNELL or Mr. BIGGAR. The House of Commons may perhaps survive a partial deterioration of its character; but the process, even on a limited scale, cannot be regarded with enthusiasm. The arguments of several of Mr. MELDON'S supporters might equally well have been urged in recommendation of universal suffrage. If it is desirable that every man should as soon as possible have a vote, there can be no doubt that in the meantime as many persons as possible ought to be admitted to the franchise. One or two speakers indeed dilated on the qualifications which adorn a householder who may probably be the father of a family; but equally graceful eulogies might easily be composed on the householder's sons and brothers and unmarried cousins.

Lord HARTINGTON, who has committed the Liberal party to household suffrage in English and Scotch counties, naturally spoke in favour of the same franchise in Irish boroughs. The party is of course not permanently bound by its concurrence eleven or twelve years ago in the establishment of the present franchise. Mr. GLADSTONE himself, who had emancipated the British compound householder, allowed Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE to institute a different system for another state of society. At that time even the Irish members were not greatly shocked by the inequality which now moves their indignation. According to Mr. LEWIS, Mr. MELDON'S clients have not taken the trouble either to ask for the franchise by petition or to adopt any other kind of agitation; but Mr. LOWTHER was scarcely well advised in his reference to the supposed indifference of the lowest class of Irishmen. A similar challenge, imprudently issued by Mr. LOWE in 1866, was answered by Mr. BRIGHT'S advice to the mob to intimidate the House of Commons, and by the riot which is remembered in consequence of the destruction of the Hyde Park railings. It might be possible to organize similar disturbances in three or four of the largest Irish towns, though the population of most of the boroughs is barely large enough to furnish materials for a riot. Lord HARTINGTON raised the real issue in his thoughtful and just remark that in a Parliamentary Constitution the object is to obtain the most genuine representation of the community. His further inference that the greatest number of electors complies most fully with the required conditions was in itself unsound, and the theory pointed directly to universal suffrage. If Mr. LEWIS is right in thinking that household suffrage would deprive the Protestant middle class of electoral power, Mr. MELDON'S Constitution would be less truly representative than that which he wishes to supersede. It has been found by experience that a too select and too narrowly limited constituency is not qualified to represent the mass of the population; but the few represent the many more approximately than the rabble represents the respectable classes. The Municipality of Paris, which votes away the civic funds for the benefit of the incendiaries

and assassins of the Commune, is chosen by universal suffrage. No oligarchy of privileged citizens would be capable of committing a similar outrage. If the old-fashioned doctrine of constitutional checks and balances were in fashion, it might be plausibly argued that the most effective of all checks on tyranny is the separation of physical force from legal authority. Numbers offer a silent menace to minorities which abuse their power; but with universal suffrage all forces, material and legal, operate in the same direction.

When there is no sufficient reason for diversity, the presumption is in favour of uniformity; but before this rule is applied it would be well to ascertain that the circumstances are the same. Most of the Irish boroughs are themselves anomalies, intentionally created or preserved. The greater number would long since have been disfranchised if the same system had prevailed in Ireland and in Great Britain. Except in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and three or four other towns, there is no urban population in Ireland; and consequently legislators have treated villages as if they were towns. The Irish members have, when the question has been raised, not injudiciously insisted on the maintenance of a distinction, which is perhaps arbitrary, between counties and boroughs. One of the consequences is that some of the most wretched hovels are to be found within the borough boundaries. As Mr. FORSTER observes, the establishment of the English borough franchise in Ireland would greatly facilitate the extension of household suffrage to Irish counties; and, when uniformity had been carried so far, it would be difficult to oppose the redistribution of electoral districts, and the consequent withdrawal from the boroughs of their separate right of representation. The result would not be absurd in itself, but it is probably not accepted in anticipation by Mr. MELDON and his Irish supporters. On the whole, the majority was probably well advised in rejecting the Resolution; but the promoters of the change have some reason to complain of the inconsistency of the House. The motion has been brought forward in every Session of the present Parliament, and it has been on two occasions only defeated by a few votes. The Ministers have now made it the subject of a regular party division, which might as well have been taken on an earlier occasion. Schemes of Parliamentary Reform, or rather of extension of the suffrage, may always be defended by reference to precedents. The same reasons were given for change, and the same objections were raised in 1832, and on all later occasions. Society has hitherto survived dangers which were seriously and not unreasonably apprehended, and some advantages have resulted from the latest and most questionable extension of the suffrage. Septical politicians who have feared that each addition to the constituencies would render the pressure from outside more irresistible by providing confederates within are not convinced by precedents. The best excuse for the introduction of household suffrage into Irish boroughs is that it would be a small measure.

#### MR. CROSS AND THE ARTISANS' DWELLINGS ACT.

AT the time when the Government was receiving at least its due meed of praise for passing the Artisans' Dwellings Act, we pointed out that, whatever might be the merits of that measure, there was a considerable danger that they might be neutralized by the absence of any provision for putting it into force. Mr. Cross had chosen to assume that the municipal authorities whose powers it was intended to enlarge were burning to follow the example of Glasgow, and to set about rehousing their poor, as soon as the disabilities under which they laboured in this respect should be removed. He did not see that the parallel between Glasgow and other cities broke down in one most important particular. They, equally with Glasgow, had been at liberty to apply for a special Act of Parliament to enable them to make the desired improvements. But they had not, equally with Glasgow, made such an application; and it was not an unnatural inference that towns which had shown no desire to obtain the powers it was proposed to give them might not be disposed to use them when obtained. Mr. Cross refused to believe that such a conclusion could be fairly drawn from the past inaction of the great towns, and determined to stake the success of his Bill on their readiness to carry it out. He disclaimed all thought of

coercing the municipal authorities, and declined to contemplate the possibility of any such coercion being necessary. The Artisans' Dwellings Act was passed in the faith that it stood alone among laws, and needed not that any penalty should be imposed for disregard of its provisions. There have been, no doubt, some notable instances in which our forebodings have come to nothing. Birmingham, for example, has carried out the Act to the fullest extent, both in the letter and in the spirit. But there has been at least one equally notable instance in which those forebodings have been borne out. Wherever the Act may have been a success, it has been a complete failure in London; and in London the need for a measure of the kind is naturally greater than in any other city. In answer to a question put to him by Mr. HORWOOD on Tuesday, Mr. CROSS had to confess his sorrow that he had no power to compel the Metropolitan Board to carry out the statute. The facts, as stated by Mr. HORWOOD, certainly justified the HOME SECRETARY'S regret. The neighbourhood of Gray's Inn Road is one of the districts which stand most in need of that sweeping reformation which the Act contemplates. On Mr. CROSS'S reading of the dispositions of municipal bodies, the Metropolitan Board should have set to work to prepare a scheme for its improvement the moment that the Act had become law. They did so far bestir themselves as to submit such a scheme to the Home Office in the following year; but unfortunately this scheme proved so wholly, and even ludicrously, inadequate to the needs of the district that Mr. CROSS was obliged to reject it. Thereupon the Metropolitan Board washed their hands of the Act altogether, and devoted itself to the welfare of the more respectable element among their constituents. They did not, indeed, neglect the neighbourhood of Gray's Inn Road; but, instead of making it healthy for the poor, they confined themselves to making it more convenient for the well-to-do. In the pursuit of this latter object they were even willing that the last state of the poor in the district should be worse than the first. In order to widen Gray's Inn Road a large number of houses had to be pulled down, and the result of this was necessarily to make the overcrowding of those that remained proportionately greater. How much greater it has become may be judged by Mr. CROSS'S statement that, under the Bill for widening Gray's Inn Road, nearly the whole of the area included in the original scheme was destroyed, without any provision whatever being made for the housing of the inmates. So far as this part of London is concerned, the Artisans' Dwellings Act might as well never have been passed.

Upon the case as thus stated the HOME SECRETARY seems to have been to blame for not opposing the Bill promoted by the Metropolitan Board. If he had said in Parliament that that Bill, though dealing with an area which needed to be dealt with under the provisions of the Artisans' Dwellings Act, was not framed in accordance with those provisions, and did indeed aim at a wholly different object, and that on this ground he must ask the House of Commons to reject it, there is no doubt that the Bill would have been defeated. The Bill for the widening of Gray's Inn Road was, so to say, a sort of fraud upon the Artisans' Dwellings Act. It dealt with a district which had already been marked out as one in which there was urgent need for some remedy to be applied to overcrowding, and it dealt with it in a way which only made that overcrowding worse. A Bill of this kind ought never to have been passed; and, if the HOME SECRETARY had described it in its true colours to the House, it is certain that it never would have been passed. The Artisans' Dwellings Act gives the Government no power to enforce it upon unwilling local authorities; but when a local authority which has omitted to carry out its provisions comes to Parliament for leave to do something which positively conflicts with the Artisans' Dwellings Act, it is within the competence of the Government—and being within their competence it is, we submit, their duty—to move Parliament to withhold that leave. The Metropolitan Board have absolutely no title to the consideration of Parliament in this respect. They have grossly neglected the duties imposed on them by the Artisans' Dwellings Act. They have allowed the riverside districts of London to remain exposed to inundation, while they have been higgling as to who shall pay for giving them proper protection. They have persisted in bringing in a Bill the principle of which has been condemned by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and which, as it has no chance of passing, is only valuable



as a means of staving off legislation on the opposite principle. A body which plays such pranks as these has no claim to anything more than bare justice at the hands of Parliament. Even if the Bill relating to the Gray's Inn Road district had been in itself harmless, it would still have been a question whether Parliament ought not to have rejected it by way of penalty for the neglect of the Board in respect of the Artisans' Dwellings Act. But when the Bill was not harmless—when, on the contrary, it aggravated the very evils which the Artisans' Dwellings Act had been framed to remedy—its rejection ought to have been a matter of course. It could only have become a matter of course by the interposition of the Government, and Mr. Cross cannot be held blameless for not having moved in the matter.

This is not the only lesson which these facts may convey to Mr. Cross. The Artisans' Dwellings Act has been tried and found wanting. It has broken down on the very point at which, when it was on its way through Parliament, Mr. Cross claimed for it especial strength. It was to be the very crown and triumph of permissive legislation. The local authorities were to be left free to act, or not to act, as they thought fit; and Mr. Cross refused even to imagine the possibility of their preferring to do nothing. The confidence he then displayed has not been justified. The greatest of all the local authorities, having regard to the area over which its power extends and the number of human beings living within its jurisdiction, goes on as though no such measure as the Artisans' Dwellings Act had a place in the Statute Book. It is plain that, if no change is made in the constitution of the Metropolitan Board, and no additional powers are given to the Home Secretary to enforce the Act, it will remain the nullity which in London it now is. It may be safely assumed that the Cabinet have no intention of taking up the thorny question of the government of London, and in that case the only way of mending the present overcrowded state of many parts of London is to insert in the Artisans' Dwellings Act a provision investing the Home Secretary with the power of doing, under certain conditions, the work which the local authorities ought to do, but sometimes do not do. Under an amending statute of this kind, the omission of the Metropolitan Board to submit a proper scheme for the reconstruction of the Gray's Inn Road district would only have worked a year's delay. The SECRETARY OF STATE would have inquired whether any such scheme was in preparation, and, finding that the Board proposed to do nothing, he would himself have ordered a scheme to be drawn up, and—if the Board still refused to be the instrument of putting it into execution—to be carried out in due course. The knowledge that the SECRETARY OF STATE possessed this power would probably be a sufficient guarantee against any call being made on it. The Metropolitan Board is not one of those petty local authorities which can trust to their own insignificance to hold them harmless if they leave their duties unperformed. The fact of its having refused to obey an Act of Parliament would be so notorious that a Home Secretary would feel himself forced, for very shame's sake, to exercise the powers vested in him. The Board would be perfectly aware of this, and they would consequently take care not to push resistance to a point at which it would involve so serious an inroad upon their independence as the reconstruction of large districts in London over their heads would undoubtedly constitute. It behoves the Government to see to this question, because, judging from the speeches which were made from time to time during the recess, the Artisans' Dwellings Act is regarded by them as perhaps their greatest achievement in domestic legislation. Their list of passed measures is neither so long nor so brilliant that they can afford to let the Artisans' Dwellings Act remain the laughing-stock which it has become in London. All that is wanted is to make the Act the success everywhere that it is already in some places, and the only way in which this can be done is to create an authority which, in the last resort, can insist upon being obeyed.

#### A NEW PANCIROLLUS.

GUIDO PANCIROLLUS, an author more frequently quoted than read, compiled a book about the Lost Arts of the Ancients. The belief that the Greeks and Romans knew a number of things which the lapse of years and the invasion of the barbarians buried in oblivion was common in his time. In ours, perhaps,

it is more usual in artistic circles to hope that the lapse of ages, or some new invasion of still undiscovered tribes of decent taste, may at last abolish some of the arts with which we are too familiar. A new Pancirollus, instead of deploring lost arts, would rather construct a catalogue of the arts which we could well afford to lose.

As science advances, and as the fancy of Mr. Edison becomes more and more prolific, the need of a new Pancirollus is, by many persons, more keenly felt. Within the last three years even, a number of fresh inventions have been made which threaten to render life more intolerable than ever to people of taste. The discovery of the microphone, for example, is a singular example of the perversity of man. The aim of every rational being is to lessen, if possible, the amount of noise and din in this bustling world. If science were truly benevolent, she would hit upon a simple instrument which should soften or suppress the vibrations of sound. An ingenious person is believed to have devised a machine which, being attached to the ordinary piano, enables that instrument to produce a noise equal in volume to that of a cathedral organ. The machine which people of sensibility wished to see invented is just the reverse of this musical affair and of the microphone. The "megaphone," if we may coin a term, ought to be of light and simple construction. It should be capable of being applied without inconvenience to railway-engines, babies, undergraduates, Home Rulers, and everything that loveth and maketh a noise. The megaphone would restore slumber to the eyes of people who live near railway stations and suffer from railway whistles. It would permit the dons of fast colleges to sleep in peace. It would impart a singular calm and harmony to political discussion. It would lull and soothe us as nothing else can, not even poetry, or the aspect of the mountains and the sea. When all this is so obvious to the meanest capacity, what does science do? She patents the microphone, an instrument by aid of which you can hear the sounds to which nature had mercifully made us deaf—the thundering tramp of the house-fly's feet, the yell with which a beetle meets his doom, the surge and thunder of the pulse in the veins of a human being.

The microphone is doubtless one of the first inventions that the Pancirollus of a new æsthetic age would wish to inscribe in his *Liber Rerum Deperditarum*. There are dozens of other inventions which it is at least as desirable to forget. Mr. Ruskin, indeed, would probably put railways, telegraphs, the printing-press, and the art of binding books in cloth covers, with that of half-binding them, into his black book. Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his friends would gladly see the arts of the distiller, the brewer, the fermenter of the juice of the grape, pass into the condition of encaustic painting, of the Tyrian purple, of Greek fire. If every one who chose to proscribe an art had his way, from the inmates of the casual ward in a workhouse, who heartily regret the invention of soap, up to the British mariner, who detests iron-clads, we should be reduced to something very like the state of nature. Such extreme simplicity is not desirable, especially in our climate. Perhaps the shortest way of coming to an understanding about the arts which it would be well to lose is to examine Pancirollus's schedule of the arts which are lost already. For many of his *res deperditæ* we have some unhappy equivalent, which posterity, let us hope, will only know from fragments of ancient newspaper advertisements.

Pancirollus writes first of all about the Tyrian purple, "the king of colours," as he calls it. Purple was made, by some unknown process, from a certain shell-fish; and our author well observes that the species is not likely to have become extinct. It is only men that have forgotten how to deal with the crustacean. "Syria and the other countries where the shell was found have fallen into the hands of the Turks and of other barbarous and uncultivated races." In the proud position of purple, which heads Pancirollus's scheme of things lost, we might place magenta, which, of all aniline dyes, it would be most agreeable to lose. Unhappily the "barbarous and uncultivated races" which once knew not aniline dyes have fallen in love with them, and the pious Bonze kneels on a rug streaked with mauve, while the skilled Japanese daubs his fans with the hue which is fancifully supposed to overspread the face of *Bismarck enragé*. Even if our feelings as patriots could permit us to welcome a barbarian invasion (and there is no saying to what lengths patriotism will go), nothing would be æsthetically gained.

The art of encaustic painting is the second in the catalogue of Pancirollus—a method by which colours were burned in, by aid of melted wax, so as to be imperishable. The history of the solitary example of this art which has reached our time is curious. On the marches of the territories of Cortona and of Montepulciano there is an estate called La Stella, belonging to a family called Tommasi. In the year 1732 some ancient statuettes of bronze were found on this farm, and with them a painting on a tile or smooth stone. This painting fell into the hands of a peasant, who at first took the female head for that of a Madonna. On discovering his error he cut off the upper part of the tile, and fixed what remained into an inconvenient hole in the wall to keep the wind away. Here Giovanni Tommasi found the very beautiful and singular work of a lost art, which has successfully defied damp and heat to destroy its brilliancy, and science to discover the technical method of its colouring. It is pleasant to dream of a distant future when some peasant of a truly æsthetic age shall discover in some ancient chest the very last chromolithograph. We can imagine the horror of the worthy man—his first impulse to destroy the glaring and perishable object; his second, perhaps his less

sagacious, impulse to hand it over to the Committee of the Grosvenor Gallery, which shall have taken the place of the Royal Academy. We can fancy the curiosity of thinking men, their surprise at the barbarous arts of their ancestors thus unexpectedly revealed, their inability to conceive the method of chromolithography, and to understand the taste to which it appealed. May they be as unsuccessful in their guesses as our archaeologists are in their attempts to revive the encaustic art!

When Pancirollus writes *de aurichalco*, "a metal made of brass, which was partly like gold," we cannot escape the sad thought that perhaps *aurichalcum* is not lost at all. Pliny, to be sure, says that for many years it has been impossible to obtain any *aurichalcum*; but then it was Pliny's business to make more mistakes than the facts seemed to admit of, and to be eternally in the wrong with perverse ingenuity. Martianus, who lived in the time of the Emperor Alexander, certainly mentions the substance, and, even if it has been lost, the race of jewellers *audax omnia in perpeti* has discovered it again. There can be little doubt that *aurichalcum* is the stuff out of which the majority of wedding presents are made. It appears in clocks, photograph cases, candlesticks, letter-weights, ink-stands, everywhere, *metallum ex aere, quod auri simile*. Speaking of wedding presents reminds us that the Pancirollus describes the wedding ceremonies of the ancients among "things lost." They were certainly rather appalling, and it is no wonder that the Romans were obliged to pass laws making wedlock compulsory. Brides may be congratulated on the fact that it is not any longer thought necessary to comb their hair with the point of a spear; while the bridegroom has escaped the necessity of stuffing his pockets with nuts. The new Pancirollus, however, will find many bridal customs to proscribe, such as wedding-breakfasts, bridesmaids (with their lockets), speeches, and other annoyances too numerous to mention. If Pancirollus deplores the loss of certain precious stones, such as *Achates*, it must be remembered that he had not to regret the discovery of gutta-percha ornaments. If he sighed over the decline of the old Arena and the *Ludi Circenses*, he did not survive (he would have been about four hundred years old in that case) into the age of Mr. Weston and long-distance walking. The art of going round England on foot and of being hustled and kicked by the roughs of every large town is peculiarly modern, and peculiarly worthy of a place in the list of the successor of Guido Pancirollus. Where the mediæval writer regretted the *ludi veterum*, the new one would condemn the art of modern burlesque. Where Guido bewailed the old Roman roads and the *curatores viarum*, his imitator would denounce the tramways, the Vestries, the ingenious persons who wish to add the horrors of steam to the noise and tumult with which tramway-cars make the roads hideous, and the rails with which they render them inconvenient and dangerous. To the statues of mosaic work, which Pancirollus is anxious to restore, he would oppose the statues of London, which many are eager to destroy. In place of asking for more triumphal arches, he would pray for the removal of those more mutable advertisements, the monstrous and many-coloured sheets which decorate or disfigure every hoarding.

The dispute between the two Pancirolli, on the whole, is very like that between Themistocles and the man with the short memory. The latter wished to remember, the former to forget. If modern civilization goes on as it is doing, if it still strives after more noise, more glitter, more bustle, more machinery, while modern "culture" becomes more melancholy, lachrymose, and retiring, we may ultimately construct a strange and not comfortable world of opposites. It will be time to lose all the existing arts and begin afresh from the state of nature. The poets will all have retired into hermitages, and will only, in their dread of cruel criticism, whisper their effusions to the nettles of the grave-yards. The painters will practise in cellars or catacombs, lest perchance Mr. Ruskin come by and speak his mind. The musicians will have become so sensitive that they will only touch silent pianos, or merely take an intellectual pleasure in reading scores. Meanwhile, rampant Philistinism will have placarded every house with advertisements of cough mixtures and patent matches. Ormolu and gutta-percha will be, in jewelry, the only wear. It shall be a criminal offence to read Greek. Trains elevated to the level of the drawing-room floors shall run whistling through the ambrosial night every quarter of an hour. Widowers shall be compelled to marry their deceased wives' sisters. The march of progress will have reached its goal; material civilization will have become complete and unendurable.

#### THE FÖHN.

A MONTH ago English lakes were frozen, Scotch railways were blocked with snow, and Londoners were rejoicing, let us hope, in the realization of a conventional winter. To some persons the severe weather suggested a flight to regions where existence of the sun had not become a matter of dim tradition. To others, and, for the nonce, let us say more virtuous, persons it appeared that an admirable opportunity was presenting itself for seeing true winter in the region where winter should be most imposing. Newspapers had announced that the winter was so severe in the Jura that herds of wild swine were descending into the villages; nay, it was said that wolves had presented themselves at railway stations. It was impossible not to feel some pity for these unfortunate animals, driven, it would seem, to eke out their

miserable existence by picking up the remainder biscuit at a buffet. One could scarcely grudge them a stray pertter to relieve such a diet; but it might be hoped that no danger would result to passengers if the windows of the carriages were closed, and there was little temptation to open them in such weather. In fact, neither wolves nor wild boars presented themselves. And so it came to pass that the January sun rose one morning upon a small party of tourists and guides breaking their fast upon a lofty ridge of the Titlis. Though in mid-winter, and at a height of some eight thousand feet, the travellers were seated upon a patch of grass, and the cold was not sufficient to cause any discomfort. During the remaining climb of some two thousand five hundred feet, which was rendered laborious by the quantity of snow, they complained a good deal more of heat than of cold. But the view had already a strange beauty which would have reconciled them to anything short of downright bodily pain. To all appearance they were looking over a vast ocean. It is only at a very few points where high mountains approach the shore that any such view can be gained of an actual sea. Far away in one direction was a group, as it seemed, of purple islands, representing the higher ridges of the Black Forest. The Jura, on the West, looked like a vast promontory, a "Land's End," running out far into the waters from some hidden continent. In the landward direction it retired behind some of the mountains—green pasturage for the most part in summer, but now savage wastes of snow except where broken by precipitous rock—which rise south of the Lake of Lucerne. Such a picture may present itself occasionally in Arctic seas, where rugged peaks rise steeply along the coast. The illusion was strangely perfect, for the so-called sea was as uniform and apparently consistent as though it had been genuine water, and the play of light and shadow exactly mimicked the grey and purple stretches of the ocean-flow seen on a misty day from some prominent headland. To realize the fact that it was nothing but the upper surface of a vast mass of vapour, covering the whole lower country, for hundreds of square leagues, it was necessary to look at what ought to have been the coast line. The valley of Engelberg might have represented a deep fiord running into the high country. But, here, where the cliffs should have dipped into level water, the cloud ocean terminated in light feathery mist, wandering vaguely through the higher zones of pine forest. Thus sunlight and a moderate degree of warmth might be enjoyed by any one at a height of some three thousand feet above the sea; for that was about the upper level of the mists; whilst the dweller in the plains looked up to a dreary roof of vapour and was exposed to the bitter cold of a genuine winter.

Such weather as is implied by these conditions lasted for a considerable time in Switzerland; and it may be well for travellers to bear in mind the probability of such a combination. Travellers, it is true, are scarce in the winter Alps, though the growing popularity of Davos shows that they have a real charm even at this season. The highest peaks, indeed, lose much of their beauty; the uniform snow hides the glaciers; and they no longer stand out in solitary majesty above the inferior ranges. They are, strictly speaking, accessible; for an English lady ascended Mont Blanc in January two or three years ago, and an American gentleman climbed the Schreckhorn this year. The snow does not, as a rule, gather heavily upon the higher and steeper ridges, though here and there it makes them more dangerous; and the main objection to high ascents in the winter is that the long cold nights enormously increase the discomfort of sleeping out. But moderate walks are perfectly easy, and have a peculiar charm of their own. Huge cliffs draped from base to summit with vast curtains of icicles, pine-forests lapped in their becoming drees of white robes and grotesque mittens, harsh lines softened by the graceful contour of a snowfield, the monotonous greens changed into the exquisitely delicate hues which the snow alone can display—these and other charms peculiar to the winter season often give it a clear superiority to the summer. The form of a broad mountain valley seems to be more delicately modulated when every rock or chalet is hidden under a gentle dome of snow; and, as a prismatic cloud passes over the sun, the vast undulating surface suddenly arrays itself in a shifting play of colour as brilliant and subtly blended as those of an opal. Nor is there any serious difficulty as to material comfort. The snow may form deep drifts and lie in continuous masses up to a considerable height, but communications are kept open or rapidly restored after a fall; innkeepers are more hospitable than in the season; and paths are trodden, not only to the highest dwelling-houses, but up to the forests for the convenience of the woodcutters. If, above this point, the traveller has to wade kneedeep or waistdeep in snowdrifts, and to be careful in avoiding the possible tracks of avalanches, the lover of scenery will hold it a small price to pay for many new sensations.

But we have not quite done with the Titlis. That respectable mountain is peculiarly easy of access, as is proved by the fact that it was climbed early in the last century. The early climbers had not that severe hatred of all exaggeration which is the prominent virtue of their successors; and, not content with declaring the Titlis to be the highest mountain in the Alps—and that with the giants of the Oberland frowning right over their heads—they added the picturesque circumstance that when they were on the summit they saw a huge valley of ice stretching from their feet the whole way to Mont Blanc. We would hope that the solid Archdeacon Coxé, to whom we owe this detail, may have slightly misunderstood his informants. The view, however, is a very fine one, though stopping a little short of "Jerusalem and Madagascar"; but, on the occasion of which we are speaking, one



part was strangely obscured. Northwards the sky vault above the ocean of mist was pure and stainless. Scarcely a breath of wind whispered round the highest rocks. But the huge mass of Oberland peaks, generally so conspicuous, was blurred and indistinct. There was no positive or defined cloud; and yet, if one gigantic form loomed into distinctness for a few seconds, it presently disappeared into mysterious shadows. It seemed as though great tracts of the atmosphere in that direction were somehow ceasing to be transparent, and changing into an opaque and formless white. The meaning of the phenomenon was simply that the Föhn—the warm south wind, hated by mountaineers, and with better reason than they can assign for some of their hatreds—was breathing upon that region like the blast from a furnace. A violent wind in the mountains is not amongst the risks ordinarily taken into account. What passes for a very moderate gale by the sea-side is a rarity in the Alps. A *tourmente*, however, when it blows across an exposed ridge or down a gully in the right direction, is no joke; its influence is disastrous, though its area is limited; and such a vague blur as now showed itself upon the Finster Aarhorn was all that appeared upon Mont Blanc when eleven travellers and guides were bewildered and frozen to death upon the Calotte. Doubtless such a storm in winter might be a still more dangerous enemy; but, in the lower regions, the influence of the Föhn is of a different kind. It had already been blowing for some days when it thus blotted out part of the view from the Titlis. It announced its unwelcome presence one morning by whistling in a disagreeable and petulant fashion round the eaves of that most desirable winter quarter, the "Bear" at Grindelwald. The same afternoon the whole of the long valley which descends from the Scheideck to Meiringen was sensitive of its presence. High up, beneath the huge cliffs of the Wetterhorn or Wellhorn—the cliffs which have been painted till the view has become almost tiresome in its familiarity—the snows were still externally as pure and beautiful as ever. The glades through the pine forest were still exquisite under the undulating snowbeds; the basins scooped by the wind under the huge trees and the domes above the scattered boulders were as perfect as ever. But the snow itself had suddenly changed its consistency. It was in the condition dear to schoolboys who want a match at snowballing. It caked into heavy masses with surprising facility. To wade through it was as troublesome as to walk through honey; great balls gathered round the ends of alpenstocks like the lumps of molten iron which a puddler draws out of a furnace; and, after crossing the well-known plain below Rosenlaur—that plain where, as Mr. Ball says in his Guide, it is usual to see several artists engaged in the hopeless but exciting task of painting the Wetterhorn—a ghastly change was revealed. What is to be said of a journey from London to the Alps in search of the perfection of winter when the winter has, so to speak, slipped through one's fingers? "Oh sont les neiges d'antan?" as the poet pathetically inquires. All gone away in *die Ewigkeit*, like Hans Breitmann's party; or, rather, changed into a vile collection of sloppy dirty puddles, slowly trickling down the hillsides into the rushing and rapidly swelling Aar. Alas! here was a wretched compromise between winter and summer; no snow, but also no verdure. The hillsides for many hundreds of feet have discharged their burden; the snow has slid off them in great sheets, forming small avalanches; the grass below is withered, and looks as though it had been scraped with a harrow. The icicles are rattling down by tons at a time off the black rocks' faces above the Reichenbach. Up in the Urbach Thal, beneath the giant cliffs of the Engelhörner, a perpetual cannade is going on. The frost has been ornamenting them all winter through by its delicate lacework wherever a thread of water trickles across them in summer. Delicate as it looks it is massive enough in reality, and now it is descending in avalanches to the valley; and at every minute a small puff of powder is followed by a loud report, echoing far and wide along the flanks of the mountain.

In fact, the valley of Meiringen is a funnel so placed that the Föhn blows down it from the Grimsel with peculiar vigour. When it had been completely bared of snow, it was only necessary to cross the low pass of the Brünig, which diverges at no great angle but is protected by a mountain-ridge, in order once more to come into the unbroken reign of winter. But Meiringen in the midst of winter is parched by the hot wind; the roofs of the houses have discharged their burdens of snow; every gutter has become a stream; and the stranger imagines that the torrents which descend by the town and which the inhabitants have been embanking with laborious patience, are likely to overflow and cause fresh mischief. The real danger is of a different kind, and the traveller is soon informed of the fears of the inhabitants. If he walks into the street smoking, he is warned at once that to smoke during the Föhn is a punishable offence. If he asks for fresh bread at an inn where all other comforts are provided, he is told that the baker has not been allowed to light his fires whilst the dangerous wind is blowing. The village is, or rather was, constructed entirely of wooden houses, and when they are parched and a steady wind blowing, it is obvious that to set a stray spark flying may be in reality to set fire to a prepared train of touchwood. He acknowledges the reasonableness of strict regulations. He feels rather glad to get out of a place in which so constant a danger seems to be always present to the minds of the inhabitants, and yet he imagines that where so much care is taken the danger can hardly be serious.

Unfortunately we have heard within the last few days that at

last the care has been fruitless. There were few more picturesque villages in the Swiss Alps than Meiringen, and it is dear upon many accounts to innumerable tourists. A large part of it is now a mere heap of ashes, and many families of an industrious population are homeless and ruined. Switzerland, too, is suffering like other places under the prevalent distress; and the woodcarving which is the staple employment of the valley is of course one which suffers very quickly where people have to retrench superfluous luxuries. The moral which some people will draw will doubtless be that the inhabitants of a valley exposed to the Föhn ought not to live in wooden houses, placed carefully end to end in the direction of the wind. It is certainly to be hoped that that reflection will suggest itself to whomsoever it may concern when the village is being rebuilt. But it may also be worth saying that the present race has been only doing what its forefathers have done for many generations, and that it has certainly not been reckless in the sense of neglecting any feasible precautions, except that of entirely rebuilding its houses. And perhaps so thinking, they may, if they are lucky enough to have superfluous funds, bestow some slight fragment of them upon the sufferers from this very serious catastrophe.

#### TURKISH REFORMS AND INDIAN SETTLEMENTS.

WHILE some partisans indulge sanguine hopes of the ultimate conversion of the Turk, and others talk of him as an irreclaimable savage, it may not occur to either party to discuss seriously the practicability of the reforms pressed on the Porte by Lord Salisbury through our Ambassador at Constantinople. As we lately remarked, they are three in number. First, there was to be a new gendarmerie or police. Next, the judicial tribunals were to be improved. Lastly, the collection of the revenue was to be placed on a sound footing. While the present Foreign Secretary very properly indented on his knowledge acquired at the India Office, we wonder that he did not propound remedies for the evils of Turkish rule in the exact order in which they would have been enumerated by several of the able administrators who compose the Indian Council. No student of recent Oriental history, no district officer from the Punjab, Oudh, or the Central Provinces, need be reminded that, after annexation or conquest, the very first thing to be done was to make a "land settlement" of the province. The maxim dates from our occupation of Bengal. It was the measure to which attention was given by Verelst, Hastings, and Shore before they thought of other improvements. As our Empire increased, revenue always took precedence of police-stations and judicial courts. We may affirm without exaggeration that revenue reform is a condition indispensable to every improvement, as well as to the very constitution and well-being of Oriental society. It may almost be said that everything is at a deadlock and that nothing will go on, well or ill, till the revenue has been assessed. Unless the cultivator knows how much he will have to pay, how often the tax-collector is coming, and what is the security for the possession of his fields and the quiet enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, it is perfectly useless to talk to him about sending his children to school, or having the benefit of just laws and equitable tribunals for the vindication of his rights. A proper settlement is the first condition of good agriculture. In Egypt and in Turkey, just the same as in India, without a definition of the amount claimable by the State, of the mode in which that amount is to be levied, and of the period within which no additional increase will be demanded, it is a mockery to fill pages with budgets and allotments, with apportionments of revenue and payments of loans.

The process of collecting the land-tax hitherto customary in Turkey may be gathered from the accounts of travellers, the reports of consuls, and the relations of Blue-books. A tithe-collector, with a small army of familiars, swoops down on the villages at harvest time, and, with delay and inquisition calculated to drive a less enduring population to revolt or madness, collects the proportion due to the State, and as much more as will make the operation profitable to himself. Into this system is yearly crowded the utmost possible annoyance to the cultivator with the least proportion of profit to the State. When Sir H. Layard, acting on Lord Salisbury's instructions, pressed Safvet Pasha to abolish such an odious system, he was met by plausible objections to the effect that tithe collecting in kind had been in vogue with the inhabitants from time immemorial; that there had been no regular survey of the land, and consequently that there existed no basis for substituting a money payment; that the feeling of the villagers was against the change; and that the Greek Government had in vain attempted it. To make a Turk adopt a beneficial reform may be harder than to convert a Pindaree into a cultivator or to stanch a blood-feud amongst Pathans. But the objections could have been, at least, met by illustration and example. When the Punjab was annexed, just thirty years ago, it was found that the Sikh Government had been similarly in the habit of collecting its dues in kind from a large area. The State demand never exceeded one-third of the crops, averaged one-fourth or fifth, and sometimes fell as low as one-eighth. For the better kinds of produce, such as sugar cane, tobacco, and vegetables, and in rich localities secured against climatic vicissitudes by irrigation, the revenue was taken in money. Practically the Sikh authorities were considerably ahead of Turkish

Pashas, inasmuch as out of a land revenue of 1,330,000*l.*, about 900,000*l.* was received in kind, about 180,000*l.* was paid in money direct by the cultivators or communities, and the rest was farmed out. The first step taken by the Board of Administration was to commute the payment in kind for payment in money, and to consolidate every separate item of collection into one aggregate sum. The immense quantities of produce, be it remarked, which under the Sikh system came into the possession of the Government, of course found their way to the market. The Sikh Durbar retained what it required, and sold the rest through its officials to grain-dealers and shopkeepers in the bazaars. But the Board of Administration had no need whatever, with a view to the introduction of money payments, of a *cadastre* or a regular survey, and it is clear to us that Sir H. Layard, with the most honest intentions, was ignorant of the marked distinction drawn by Anglo-Indian Commissioners between a Regular and a Summary settlement. The latter can be carried out in the first year of occupation, from such rough and ready data as active officials going about the country can collect from headmen, tenant-proprietors, and village accountants. They take circles of ten or twenty villages in a lump, call the elders together, compare their stories with such records as are available, test both by ocular inspection of the state of agriculture, take into account the rainfall and the facilities for irrigation from rivers or wells, and then strike an equitable balance. Nothing like a survey or a measurement is attempted. No record of rights is even commenced. Possibly a boundary squabble or two may be adjusted. But the great thing is to let the agricultural community know that for a certain period, say three or five years, no enhancement will take place. The vexatious process of appraising the growing crop or dividing it just after harvest is at an end. Arrangements are made for the payment of the whole tax due from one or more villages, through certain responsible persons; and the yearly visitation of official locusts is forbidden. Such are the main features of an Indian summary settlement; and with honest hard work by the local officers and judicious supervision by Commissioners and Boards, it has generally succeeded, though grey-bearded Sikhs and sturdy Jats may at first be loud in their protestations that the heavens are of brass and the soil of iron, and that they and their posterity will be irretrievably ruined. But another notable feature of the Indian commutation of tithe and settlement for a short term is that this reform invariably leads to a reduction of the Government demand. In some instances it is as much as fifteen, twenty, and even twenty-five per cent. Orientals have tolerated, and even liked, an annual appraisal, because, whatever the harvest may be, the State can only take its share—one-fifth or one-sixth—of the crop. When payments are fixed for a term of years, and the produce has to be converted into money for such payment, it becomes indispensable to lighten the incidence of taxation. Besides, as security increases and cultivation extends, prices naturally fall, and, unless trade revives and exportation follows, a community might produce more than it could consume or sell. But there is no doubt that a fair summary settlement is the foundation of all progress and contentment; and when Safvet Pasha talked about surveys and registers, he ought simply to have been told that the rough assessments must come first, and that the record of rights would eventually follow.

Now, in applying this process to Turkey, it must not be forgotten that it has to be introduced by more imperfect instruments than Anglo-Indian collectors, and in the teeth of more powerful obstacles than Sikh despotism or Mahratta misrule ever bequeathed to a vigorous and benevolent Viceroy. For a new or neglected province Lord Dalhousie or Lord Canning had the pick of the service; men with the rights of communities at their fingers' ends, tried in various emergencies and found equal to all. There was an overwhelming military force ready to back the civil power. The best intentions were supported by the most irresistible arguments. Money was never wanting for improvements or advances, and if a new province disappointed the calculations of sanguine financiers, the deficit was easily made good from the older parts of the Empire. In short, the Anglo-Indian administrator brought to his task every element of success; personal integrity; the triumphs and the mistakes of his forerunners in other provinces; knowledge of languages and customs; judicious correction whenever he erred, as well as hearty encouragement whenever he succeeded; and, above all, that obvious reliance on a mysterious, inscrutable, and resistless Government to which Oriental apathy and indifference must at last yield. Still there is not the slightest reason for desisting from the attempt. The Turkish peasant is described by those who know him best as simple in tastes, hardworking, obedient, and occasionally not disinclined to speak the truth. It seems absurd to say that such men should be eternally doomed to see their lands impoverished, trade paralysed, and everything around them torpid and inactive except the extortions of the tax-gatherer. We have more than once said that Egyptian finance would never be improved till the Delta of the Nile was "resettled"; and we now learn that a competent Indian civilian has at last been selected for this obvious duty. In Egypt there exists a personage known as the *Sheikh-al-Bilad*, or Head of Villages, whose knowledge and experience must obviously be enlisted on the side of order and reform. If such a functionary, or anything approaching to him, is not to be found in the Turkish provinces, he had better be created or invented. At any rate an attempt must be made to select some man from the village less downtrodden than his neighbours, to explain to him the cardinal points of a Summary Settlement, and to give him, if necessary, a council of elders to carry out the terms agreed upon. The period

of ten years suggested by Lord Salisbury appears to us just twice too long, and even a settlement for three years would be more in accordance with precedent. Difficulties and obstructions of course there will be, but mediocrity succumbs to difficulties, while ability triumphs over them. One of the most serious obstacles may be the actual deficiency of current coin to meet a recurring yearly demand. But plausible objections and vague phrases should be met by showing practically that villages can be included in circles; that an average of two or three years can be struck; that what is deducted at first will be eventually recovered, while everybody except the tithe-collector will be the immediate gainer by the adoption of the first rudiments of social order and progress. A special province or Vilayat might be selected for an experiment.

To explain the details of a Regular Settlement would at present be to offer the Turk strong meat instead of milk. When the summary process has been once introduced, materials for the more elaborate scheme are gradually collected. Sometimes in India only three or four years elapse before this is done. Sometimes the first settlement is renewed again and again, and outlasts a generation. Meanwhile one set of officials is making a scientific survey of every village and of all the geographical features of the province, while another set measures every separate field and forms a correct estimate of its productive powers. The result of this seemingly inquisitorial process is that boundaries are demarcated, proprietary rights are recorded, exemptions in favour of individuals or religious endowments are recognized, registers of the status, privileges, and duties of every class are completed, quaint customs are noted down, and this huge amount of toil assumes the triple shape of a landowner's rent-roll, a county history, and a Domesday book. No one of course need dream of this for Turkey for the next generation.

After the revenue may come the police; and we should anticipate more difficulty in raising, in properly paying, and in controlling an agency for the detection and repression of crime, than in coaxing the population into a reform of the land-tax. A policeman badly remunerated, and left to act at times for himself, may be only the tithe-collector in another shape. It has been found easier in India to sweep away vexatious cesses, to record agricultural rights, and even to fill the bench with native judges of capacity and integrity, than to select policemen who will not abuse their powers. In some of our provinces the police force has only been reformed during the last fifteen years, and every Anglo-Indian administrator can quote instances that have come under his own notice where a policeman has taken a bribe to conceal a crime, or has had recourse to something like torture to detect it. But as the Porte undertakes to organize a corps of gendarmerie and to appoint foreigners—which, we hope, means Englishmen—to exercise supervision over it, we have nothing more to say at present about this particular subject.

The judicial reforms proposed by the English Government at first took the following shape. It was suggested that central tribunals should be established in important Asiatic towns, in each of which there should be a European officer, "whose consent should be necessary for every judgment." In answer to this Safvet Pasha used the kind of argument which has been repeatedly used by Indian administrators against the employment of English "barristers of five years' standing" as district or *zillah* judges in India—"They would know nothing of the native laws, languages, and customs"; and, though we have read the Blue-book carefully, we fail to obtain the slightest hint as to what was to happen when a righteous English judge "refused his consent" to some outrageous decision of an obstinate Kazi or Moulavi, trained to look on the evidence of Kâfir in the strictest spirit of the Koran. Are the minutes of dissent to be published? or is the necessary decree to be postponed indefinitely? or is a superior court at Constantinople to teach the erring members of the subordinate Bench the first rules of evidence and law? Instead of judges of co-ordinate or superior power, Sir H. Layard proposes the appointment of peripatetic inspectors, who should visit the provinces, receive complaints, and generally keep an eye on judicial proceedings. Supervision, though it may horrify a barrister accustomed to talk of the independence of judges, must be exercised in some shape or other; and, if this cannot be done by an appellate judge, it must be left to the executive power. Even in India, as was argued in the celebrated Fuller case, similar executive interposition may become imperative. Another version of this reform is, however, suggested in these papers. The Porte has, in principle, accepted the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, which admits of the establishment of a court of commercial appeal in which English and French judges should have seats. But, while such a tribunal has been created by the Khedive at Alexandria and works well, the Sultan has hitherto refused to put the Act in force. It seems to us that, whatever may be the views of the obstructive party at Constantinople, this is precisely one of the reforms on which we ought to insist. Very likely the only way in which the administration of justice can be improved in such a country is to begin at the top. For years in India it has been a common complaint that the judicial element is strong in the highest and weak in the lowest courts. But this was unavoidable, though it is now being remedied.

It appears to us that we have ourselves a good opportunity of showing the Turk how the police can be reformed, the revenue equitably collected, and the judgment-seat purified. Let us begin all this work in Cyprus. To judge from some speeches and leading articles on this point, the public does not quite understand our position in that island. As there has been no permanent or formal cession of his sovereign rights by the Sultan, every executive act



of ours must legally be done under powers held directly from him. We are simply the delegates of Turkish authority. We may of course refrain from barbarous punishments, suspend oppressive laws, remove gross abuses, and carry out practical reforms, but we are, after all, only the Turkish rule in a better shape. Unless we are that, we are nothing, and can have no authority whatever in the island. We even go so far as to say that, constitutionally, the Lord High Commissioner might, as the representative of Turkish power, choose between the retention of the bow-string, the sack, and impalement, and the introduction of trial by jury. The case is simplified as regards reforms in Cyprus by the fact that we have not a Turkish Pasha but a high English official at the head of the administration, and that while he will not defer to absurd Turkish prejudices on the one hand, he need be in no hurry, on the other, to give the islanders some ridiculous caricature of representative government. But, under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, he may create two or three model tribunals; he can discipline, pay, and organize a police force; and he can certainly order the revenue to be collected on a system that commends itself to experience and sound sense. To restrain the reckless system of tree-felling and to drain marshes and construct roads may be equally feasible. And when the time again comes for an English Minister to urge these measures on the Porte through his representative, his arguments may derive additional force if he can refer to Cyprus as a positive success, instead of to India as a distant analogy.

#### A QUIET DAY AT HOME.

IT is possible that much of what is said about the restlessness and bustle of modern life may be exaggerated; but nevertheless there can be little doubt that most people, be their occupations connected with business or pleasure, have an occasional longing for a quiet day at home. It does not necessarily follow that the wished-for quiet day would, when obtained, be devoted to absolute rest; indeed it is likely enough that it might be destined for study, or the arrangement of private affairs; but, whatever the way in which the person might desire to spend it, he would wish to have the time to do exactly as he likes with, just as a boy likes to have a sixpence which he can call entirely his own. Men with large incomes often complain that, after estate improvements, servants' wages, and tradesmen's bills have been paid for, they have very little money left to spend, as they call it, upon themselves; and, on much the same principle, men who are in no profession, and whose time is apparently at their own disposal, have often reason to lament the want of a quiet day at home. The so-called idle man in the country, for instance, not unfrequently longs for a day to himself, with no special business or pleasure previously allotted to it—a day on which he will not be expected either to amuse or to be amused, to attend a county meeting, pay a visit to his lawyer, stay at a friend's house, or entertain guests at home. When there is a prospect of such a day, he thinks that he will thoroughly enjoy himself; he will read the best articles in the magazines—possibly he may write one; he will glance over the novels which are most talked about in society; he will refresh his too practical mind with a little good old poetry; he will go on with the picture which he has not touched for a couple of months; he will have an hour or two's practice on the piano or harmonium, do a little carving, and balance his accounts. The plan for the new buildings shall be sketched out, the boys shall be given a riding lesson, and a quiet walk shall be taken with his wife. The only likely drawback to the day will be its length, as there may be a part of it in which there will be nothing to do, and boredom may have a battle with the much wished-for *dolce far niente*.

Such is the picture of the quiet day at home, as drawn in anticipation. When it arrives, it brings with it a delightful sense of spare time, accompanied with a disinclination for early rising. An extra hour in bed helps to get rid of some of the superfluous time; and even if a man gets up early, he is apt to find that the stern regularity of his household arrangements—post-bag, prayers, breakfast, and the intervals between them—dispose of a good deal. On ordinary days the necessity of an early start to catch a train, to attend magistrates' or other county meetings, or to reach some rendezvous of sport, usually procures him exemption from the formal morning routine of his well-conducted family; and to a man accustomed to sit down to a free and easy breakfast, followed by an early start, with a cigar in his mouth, in search of pleasure or business, the protracted ceremonies of a regulation family morning are likely to be slightly depressing. After an unusual interval between his last mouthful of breakfast and his tobacco, he at last emerges from the hall door, in the full enjoyment of a cigar; but a servant follows him with the announcement that "a young person" wishes to see him. He kicks his heels for a few minutes while inquiries are being made as to the business of this young person, after which he is obliged to return to the house, as his visitor wants a recommendation for a charity or some other document which necessitates a journey to a room where tobacco is tabooed. For this purpose the cigar has to be left upon a window ledge; and, when taken up again, it has gone out, while on being relighted it is found to be half-spoiled. Moodily strolling towards the stable, smoking his much deteriorated cigar, the spender of the quiet day finds himself waylaid by another "person" or two, eager to relieve him both of his time and his

money. Arrived at the stables, he finds that his groom has taken advantage of a day when he is not particularly engaged to ask him to look over his book and to point out a few things which he describes as "wanting doing to"—i.e. demanding the attentions of the bricklayer, the carpenter, the plumber, the glazier, the saddler, or the coachbuilder. A crisis has taken place in the malady of a horse which is a little lame, and the groom hopes his master will "see him out." Much time has thus been got rid of before the groom enters into a long conversation about "that young 'oss"—an animal that has been a source of annoyance and disappointment since the day he was foaled. Escaped at last from the groom, the master finds himself in the hands of his gardener, who avers that he has not seen him "this long time." He has much to talk about. Would his master mind "going as far as" this place and "stepping into" that? He has something to show him here and to point out there, and he has the plans for the new garden all ready in his house. He has evidently arranged a grand field day for his master's edification, and looks much disappointed when his victim leaves him in an hour on the plea of business of importance indoors. As his employer returns to the house he finds a policeman lying in wait for him with some summonses to be signed, or possibly a request to come to the county town to "hear a case." When the latter dire calamity happens he may as well bid farewell to his quiet day at once; for although he is requested to fix any hour which may best suit his convenience, and although the case itself may possibly last but a few minutes, much time is often lost in finding the witnesses, and, once in the county town, he is sure to be called upon to sign some papers or do some business or other.

But we will not imagine anything so unfortunate as one of these requests to "hear a case." Let us rather consider the policeman as disposed of in a few minutes, and the subject of our sketch safely arrived in the seclusion of his study. He looks at his watch and is surprised to find that it is twelve o'clock. Before beginning to amuse himself he thinks he will knock off his letters and balance his accounts. The correspondence turns out a more serious matter than had been anticipated. Several forgotten letters require answering, and by the way too there are those little matters to which the groom and gardener called attention, which entail letters to several tradesmen. He finds it very difficult to fill one sheet of paper with MS. for a ready-penned friend who lately sent him two, and a question which must be replied to seems hard to answer. Reference has to be made to a book in the library, where the volume is not in its usual place, and a temper-trying hunt of a quarter-of-an-hour's duration is the consequence. When the missing book is at last discovered, and the letter requiring its use half-finished, an acquaintance is announced who has "called early in order to find him at home," on some business more or less trivial. Letters have now to be deferred until after luncheon, which is ready before anything satisfactory seems to have been accomplished. When the meal is over and he resumes his correspondence he feels unusually dull and sleepy. His letters, therefore, last him for another half-hour or so, after which he thinks he may as well just settle his accounts. It is seldom the nature of amateur account-books to balance very readily; but on this occasion they seem abnormally perverse. Just as our friend, after much labour, thinks he has caught a clue to the causes of divergence between the debtor and creditor pages, his wife comes in to inform him that his son and heir has "been naughty," and that a paternal lecture is indispensable. Having performed this unpleasant duty, he has re-established himself at his accounts, and almost added up a long column, when he is disturbed by some of those privileged callers whom he always professes himself so delighted to see, and who enter his sanctum without fuss or ceremony. These intimates have a habit of paying long visits; they want to see what has lately been done in the garden, and would like to have a look at the new horse. He thus gets no peace till within an hour of dressing time, when he determines that he will at any rate have a short period of enjoyment, and, casting all cares on one side, he takes up a favourite magazine, and throws himself into a luxurious arm-chair by his study fire. But the worries of his accounts, the boredom of his callers, and the liberality of his luncheon and afternoon tea, have told upon him, and he has scarcely read a page of a philosophical article upon the immortality of the soul, before he relapses into a heavy but uncomfortable sleep, in which he remains until the dressing gong awakens him to consciousness, and to the fact that his quiet day has come to an end, with little apparent result, and still less enjoyment to himself. As he dresses for dinner, he probably reflects that had he been to his county town on business, he would have had two quiet half-hours with a book or newspaper in a railway carriage; that if he had been hunting or shooting, he would have had an undisturbed couple of hours on his return home; and that even when staying at friends' houses it is possible to obtain a little time to oneself, if one is judicious; but as to a quiet day at home—let it not be mentioned in his presence again—the thing is simply a delusion and a snare.

Being fond of occasional quiet, we have given some attention to the various means of obtaining it; and, after considerable study of the subject, we have come to the conclusion that the only real method of securing quiet enjoyment is to be ill. We have tried many other plans, but they have almost always resulted in failure. When, therefore, a convenient day can be found, a temporary indulgence in this luxury is highly desirable, and is a matter worthy of agreeable anticipation. When the happy day arrives we shall be able to lie in bed as long as we like, to get up

when we like, and to breakfast when we like, without keeping others waiting, or, still worse, being kept waiting ourselves. We shall be able to have exactly what we like for dinner, without being tormented with dishes we do not want and with servants who watch every mouthful we eat. The privacy of our study will not be invaded; we shall be able to wear any luxurious attire that may suit our fancy; and we shall not be interrupted by callers. We shall be allowed to study theology, the arts and sciences, or the *Racing Calendar*, as our tastes may lead us, without distraction. If our house is filled with guests they will not be permitted to molest us, and of course we shall be privileged to plead exemption from any visits for which we may be engaged. In looking forward to such a time can our feelings be otherwise than pleasant? When our self-enforced imprisonment begins to interfere with our health we shall be able to go out without being bothered by every person we meet. It will be an understood thing that none of our servants, either indoor or outdoor, are to trouble us; we shall not be expected to hunt or shoot unless so inclined; and the very policeman will be warned off the premises until we completely regain our health. "Persons who wish to see" us will be sternly denied that gratification, and our relations with the parson will be voluntary rather than compulsory. If we choose to go out hunting in our delicate state of health, we shall not be expected to ride in such a manner as to endanger our limbs, and we shall be entitled to canter about on a quiet hack, watching other fools tumbling on their heads or tails. Even when our enjoyable indisposition is almost worn out, we shall yet be able to claim a few privileges. We shall not be expected to remain in smoking-rooms until the small hours of the morning, or to stay at balls until the last dance; we shall not be pressed to attend meetings, or be worried with county business; at country houses we shall be exempt from playing games which would make us unduly hot, and we shall have an excuse for staying quietly in or about the house when the rest of the party go to a ball, a lawn-tennis party, or a village concert. On the whole, we do not think it would be a great exaggeration to say that, in good society, it is only when people are supposed to be out of health that they are considered at liberty to lead a rational and moderate life.

#### SQUATTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THERE must be intense anxiety at present in many an outlying station and settlement in South Africa, even where these are far distant from the perilous confines of the Zulu country. No one in the circumstances can feel absolute confidence in the natives who have apparently been hitherto the most peaceably disposed; and almost everywhere scattered handfuls of whites are surrounded by hordes of excitable coloured people. It is certain that if the Zulus venture to take the initiative and run the risk of having their warriors cut off in the retreat, the *corolon* of our widely detached posts may be passed at many a point by their raiding parties. Settlers may have to decide between the sacrifice of their property and the prospect of being awakened in the night by the war yells of a body of savages. This is one of the hazards which those colonists chose to face when they pitched on South Africa as their adopted country, though the danger may have now assumed more formidable proportions than seemed conceivable to the most cautious and far-seeing man. But it is noteworthy that, in the emigrant's choice of a settlement, he seems often to be guided by caprices or fancies which it is not at all easy to account for. His expectation must be either to make his fortune, or to live in the comfort and freedom from care which he finds unattainable in over-crowded England. And of course this implies that he must have a certain security for life and goods under the protection of a law-abiding community. All this is to be found in the most flourishing of our colonies, although even the most advanced and the most tempting of them have their drawbacks; and, if emigrants were in the habit of hesitating overmuch, emigration would infallibly come to a standstill. In the Canadian Dominion one must count with the severity of the long winter, and though the industrious settler may be sure of a competence there, he is as little likely to grow rich as in the wilds and wastes of South Africa. In Australia you suffer from prolonged droughts, while the most prosperous days of the wool trade and the cattle runs would seem for the present to have gone by. There is always the risk of a murrain spreading among the flocks, which may leave the squatter far poorer than when he began, after years of satisfactory increase. But some element of risk is inseparable from enterprise, and in Australasia there is still money to be made, and an abundance of handsome prizes in the lottery. When the Governments of the different colonies can issue such satisfactory revenue reports as we see even in these hard times, a good many private persons must be steadily accumulating wealth. So it is in New Zealand, though perhaps in a less degree, in spite of the droughts and diseases, and flocks swallowed up in the snow-storms, and the universal complaint of commercial depression. Yet, with such fairly inviting outlets lying open to them, there are always people who will try their luck where the chances of success are infinitely more problematical; and perhaps it is well that it is so, if the world is to be peopled and civilized. Now we have a knot of sanguine adventurers banding themselves together to turn cattle-breeders on the pampas of the La Plata, although they might have learned by this time from the experience of others that they will

have to beat a retreat in the end, leaving their capital and some of their company behind them. Others turn aside from the coffee grounds of Ceylon and Mysore, where law is strong and labour plentiful, to try their fortunes with equally unfortunate results in the uncleared and unpeopled highlands of Brazil. At the same time we can in some measure understand this sort of bold and reckless speculation. South America seems still the El Dorado of adventure to many who go for hides and coffee where others have been lured to their ruin in the search for gold and diamonds; while speculators with the silvery speech of a Raleigh will always find dupes who are willing to listen to them. But South Africa has always appeared to us to be a country where the emigrant who is carefully balancing contingencies might see that he is likely to slip between two stools. He ought to know that he can never become a millionaire, since the most trustworthy authorities have invariably warned him of that. He must be aware that he will have to face no ordinary hardships if he determines to push his fortunes in the bush, while in the background there has always loomed that danger from the natives which has assumed for the moment such alarming proportions.

The typical African adventurer is the *boer*, and a rougher or more perilous life than his it is very difficult to conceive. In South Africa the Dutchman seems to have changed his character, although, happily for him, he has preserved the stolidity and phlegmatic coolness of the national temperament. The home-bred Hollander is slow to bestir himself. He is seldom much given to travel, and though he is calmly indefatigable in his application to business, his idea of the *summum bonum* is embodied in a snug *lust-haus* among tulip beds on a stagnant canal. While the African boer is as restless and as impatient of being "crowded up" as any Yankee pioneer in the American Far West, he has a mania for running up houses in the wilderness and then abandoning them on the slightest provocation. On the vaguest report of richer grazing further inland, or even on the bare possibility of bettering himself, he is ever ready to trek up and move on. We believe that those encroachments of British authority at which he has grumbled often brought ample compensation by giving him excuses for the moves in which he delighted. And so thoroughly nomadic in their instincts have these boers become, that, as Mr. Aylward tells us in his excellent book on the Transvaal, even when they are permanently settled in villages they still sleep in their clothes; while they never dream of indulging in the luxury of candles, but turn in with the setting sun, as they were in the habit of doing in their waggons. As to their courage in the field there are very opposite opinions; though Mr. Aylward, who ought to know, speaks of it very highly. At least there can be no question as to the stoical indifference to danger with which they confront the ordinary perils of the wilderness. But though a life of excitement and anxiety may become very much matter of habit, no amount of familiarity with it can make it more than endurable. Even in normal seasons the wells and waterpools lie far apart, and are apt to give out; while in the droughts that are sure to be of periodical recurrence whole districts are dried up and the pasturage is scorched into tinder. The cattle have to be guarded through the day and driven in and stockaded at night; and the farmer who has fallen asleep to a serenade of lions must be ready to jump up at a moment's notice, snatching at the weapons that lie ready to his hand. Naturally he takes an intense interest in native politics, although the first intimation he has of hostilities may come in the shape of a sudden attack. But he may be sure that every chief in his neighbourhood fears and detests him as a formidable intruder; each prowling savage regards his flocks as fair game, and each bush he passes in his walk may mask a gun or an assegai. Yet the nomad in his waggons has one advantage. Should he have timely notice of danger he may trek back, taking the bulk of his worldly goods along with him; while the occupant of an outlying homestead must either stand his ground, making what arrangements he can with the squatters about him for mutual protection, or abandon his buildings and his crops to the chances of fire and rapine.

The English settlers on the frontiers of Natal, who till lately fancied themselves comparatively safe, must now be in a very similar position. Brave they may be; but it takes what we may call "Dutch courage" to bear the prolonged excitement of continual alarms; and the strain on the nerves of women who have been brought up in peaceful English parishes must be trying almost beyond endurance. Independently of the general risk of a rising of the black population, they can never be sure that the very people they have employed on the farm are not plotting with the enemy for love or fear. When the present war is brought to an end, and the Zulus are crushed and disarmed, it may be hoped that this harassing state of affairs may be changed once and for ever. But in any case the life of the educated settler in South Africa, specially if he have ladies in his family, can never be very enviable. We happen to have been reading some letters from the wife of a police magistrate whose husband had been appointed to one of the districts on the Kei river and the borders of British Caffraria, which give a very fair notion of what one may expect in the beginning. The writer and her husband had no lack of money, they had the advantage of introductions to resident officials, they had the help of an escort of native police, and they were unencumbered by herds of sheep and cattle. But if they had not been blessed as well with excellent tempers and constitutions, they must have been inclined to throw up the appointment in disgust. Not that they met with extraordinary adventures or went through any unusual sufferings. There were no fierce beasts of prey in the scrub, and the natives,



as yet at all events, were friendly, though ready enough to take them in. But the letters give a naïvely picturesque account of unprotected loneliness and excessive discomfort. No preparations had been made to put up some huts which the party had ordered in advance, pending the building of a more substantial residence. As luck would have it, they found a dilapidated Caffre hovel of mud, wattles, and ragged thatch, and in that they sought temporary shelter. Unpacking the stores that had been made up for them in King William's Town, they found that half the camp bedsteads had been left behind, with the mattresses and all the linen, likewise the crockery and most of the cooking utensils. It rained incessantly, and the rain filtered through the filthy roof; firewood was difficult to come by, and what they managed to gather was dripping wet; so they had to bake unleavened bread as best they could, and live on fresh-slaughtered mutton, done in the damp wood-smoke in a frying-pan. For the boasted African climate in those parts is generally in extremes; when the sun is not scorching everything and turning the very grass and leaves into dust which drives about with the slightest breath of wind, the rain is coming down remorselessly and surrounding you with a slough of despond. We have said that firewood is scarce, and for that there is a good reason. There is noble woodland scenery in South Africa, there are many pleasant spots in the Cape Settlements, and doubtless Harris and Cumming and more recent sportsmen have not exaggerated the beauty of those park-like forests in the interior where they hunted the elephant and cameleopard. But, as a rule, where one has merely occasional torrents of rain, the aspect of the landscape must be barren and forbidding. Where the magistrate and his wife had chosen their squatting-place, even the thickets of dwarf mimosa had been left behind; and with the exception of some thorn bushes the only green thing was a clump of willows by the swollen watercourse. There they had to live as best they could, with no white man within thirty miles of them, till they could run up a more solid habitation and begin regular housekeeping. These experiences were in no way singular; they were very much what the ordinary settler must expect, under circumstances that must usually be far less favourable. And the African settler must have considerable capital in a small way, since he has to purchase ponderous waggons and costly teams of seasoned oxen to begin with, before he lays in his stores or makes his purchases of stock. By hard work and constant thought he may no doubt earn a competence when once he has got over the preliminary difficulties. But then we should say that the question is whether he might not have done very much better had he betaken himself somewhere else with his money. If a man is content to aim merely at living cheap, or at modestly increasing his capital by severe economy, there are comparatively old-settled countries to which he can repair with the certainty of satisfying his modest ambition. On the other hand, if he is seeking short cuts to fortune, we can conceive his putting up with any amount of hardship and facing tangible dangers to boot. But we must say that he seems to us to make a mistake when he decides to court both dangers and hardships without a reasonable chance of being proportionately rewarded; and while South Africa has ceased to be the paradise of hunters, we fear there are too many instances where it proves the purgatory of colonists.

#### LEO XIII. AND DR. NEWMAN.

IN spite of the sinister comments of critics with whom Gibbon's famous saying that "the virtues of the clergy are more dangerous than their vices" is a fixed principle of judgment, Leo XIII. has already during the first twelvemonth of his pontificate done much to justify the favourable estimate formed at the time of his election, the justice of which we have ourselves never seen any occasion to dispute. That he is himself anxious to come to terms with the Italian and other European Governments there is abundant evidence, even without referring to the very marked indication of opinion conveyed in the practical rebuke he has just administered to the Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna, who in consequence of his failure to follow the instructions of the Pontiff by placing himself in regular relations with the Italian Government, has been transferred by his Holiness to the inferior see of Ancona. The intimation published by Cardinal Nina that Italian Archbishops and Bishops without the royal *exequatur* can no longer receive the subsidies provided for some years past by the Holy See is no doubt part of an economical reform rendered necessary or desirable by the reduced condition of the Papal treasury, but it is at the same time presumably intended to carry with it a warning against the obstinacy of the irreconcilables, and perhaps also to pave the way for the acceptance of the civil list provided by the Guarantee Laws. It is no objection to such a view that the rumour of the Pope having decided on taking such a step is declared to be "premature," especially when we remember that the *Osservatore* and *Eco* no longer have authority to speak officially for the Holy See. And meanwhile it has to be borne in mind that the present reduction of Papal finances is itself due to the irritation caused among the Ultramontanes by the new policy of the successor of Pius IX., who has virtually abandoned the farcical rôle of "the august prisoner," though he still suffers himself to be saddled by his foes who are of his own household with the practical inconvenience of perpetual confinement to the Vatican. The proclamation of a

Jubilee is under the circumstances natural enough, though there is no reason to doubt that Leo XIII. is sincerely anxious to secure the prayers as well as the alms of the faithful. Since the proclamation of the first Jubilee of Boniface VIII. in 1300, this has been a constant resource of the Papacy. It was originally designed, as the name indicates, to be a periodical institution every fifty years, but before the close of the century Urban VI. fixed thirty-three years as the period for its recurrence, and it was not long before the interval was further reduced to twenty-five years. In accordance with this arrangement Pius IX. proclaimed a Jubilee in 1875. But it has also been not unusual for Popes to superadd a special celebration of the kind in any great emergency, as on the occasion of their accession, and the procedure of Leo XIII. may be justified on both grounds. He can hardly expect in the present age a repetition of the history of the first Jubilee, when two priests are said to have been employed all day long in St. Peter's shovelling up the gold pieces poured out by the faithful in an unbroken stream before the Tomb of the Apostles. But he may fairly expect a generous response to a demand which is not unreasonable, and the fruits of which are not likely to be any longer squandered in idle ostentation or still idler plots for the reversal of accomplished facts. Those who very naturally hesitated to contribute Peter's pence for the sustentation of a military display at once mischievous and unprofitable, or to help in meeting the heavy domestic calls on Cardinal Antonelli's private purse, may be not unwilling to assist the real needs of a pontiff, who has shown himself throughout his life actuated by a single-minded desire of promoting above all things the spiritual interests of the Church over which he presides.

But the announcement made the other day, and which Englishmen of all creeds may receive with satisfaction, affords the most decisive evidence hitherto given of the very different temper now prevalent at the Vatican. It is strange indeed that not only the greatest convert but the greatest mind the Roman Catholic Church can boast for many generations should have been so persistently and conspicuously ignored. Again and again for years past has the question been asked, both by Roman Catholics and Protestants, "Why is not Dr. Newman made a Cardinal?" Why indeed? To those who were at all behind the scenes the answer was familiar enough, but it was not one the adherents of the Curia could conveniently put into words. The illustrious Oxford convert was far too valuable as a decoy duck to be openly decried. When it was important to gain the ear of the British public for some Roman Catholic interest or grievance everybody felt instinctively where, and where alone, the requisite influence could be found. And every one knew also that no sense of personal neglect or worse than neglect, nothing of the *spretæ injuria forma* which might have led a smaller mind to shrink into itself, would stay his arm when the Church he loved so much better than it loved him required his services. When it was desired that the triumphant insolence of Dr. Achilli's aggressive rhetoric should be arrested, Dr. Newman was called upon by the authorities who had been so little kind to him to speak the word his countrymen were sure to listen to when it came from his lips; but they left him, when the trial came, to bear as best he might the consequences of his loyal compliance with their wishes. When University tests were relaxed a large body of English Roman Catholics were desirous of seeing him restored to Oxford to superintend the religious training of their sons at the University. The necessary funds were readily contributed, and all arrangements were made for the opening of an Oratory at Oxford where he would have resided during term; on two successive occasions the ground was actually secured for the purpose. On the part of the University authorities there was neither power nor desire to hinder the carrying out of the design. But once and again the authority of Rome, always then at the command of a well known clique in England—it would not be difficult to enter still further into particulars—was invoked, and at the last moment the design was wrecked. As though to make the insult still more galling, it was blandly intimated that the Oratory might be opened at Oxford, as long as Dr. Newman's presence there was dispensed with. The drama of *Hamlet* should at once be licensed, if only the Prince of Denmark was withdrawn. And, as though to cap the insult, after the endeavours and plans of years had been scattered to the winds, and the hopes of those most deeply interested in the advancement, or rather the creation, of "Liberal Catholic education" in England deliberately destroyed, the Jesuits were immediately permitted to establish themselves where the great Oratorian had been forbidden to set his foot. "No advantage," said a leading Ultramontane of the day, himself an Oxford convert, "could make up for the fatal misfortune of having a false system of Catholic philosophy (viz. Dr. Newman's) enthroned at Oxford." Yet when not long afterwards Mr. Gladstone published his challenge to the infallibilists of the Vatican, the professor of "a false philosophy," who had left no stone unturned to avert the madness of an enterprise which he knew to be fraught with grievous peril to the highest interests of his Church, was called upon to propound an apology which it tasked even his genius to render plausible to English ears. But, while he loyally responded to the demands made upon him, he has never sought to push the immediate interests of his Church, or snatch at a controversial triumph; still less would he condescend for a moment to the ignoble arts of the vulgar proselytizer. No one ever ventured to designate him "the Apostle of the Genteels." Had he, like Montalembert, been called away during the last pontificate, it is more than probable that the spiritual chief to

whom both of them had made sacrifices more costly than life itself would have graced his memory with an equally complimentary epitaph. It was notorious that those who were most entirely in the confidence of the Curia habitually whispered, though they dared not openly proclaim, that Dr. Newman was "only half a Catholic."

It has been left for the successor of Pius IX. to show at once his juster appreciation of merit, and his superiority to the narrow prejudices and the backstairs tyranny of cliques so long dominant at the Vatican, by making tardy reparation for this long neglect and offering Dr. Newman the purple. That at his age, and with his retiring disposition, he should have declined it is matter rather for regret than for surprise; but it is distinctly matter for regret. It is a pity that the greatest Englishman since the Reformation who has shared the faith of Wolsey, Fisher, and Pole should not inherit their mantle. No doubt the Sacred College would have gained far more honour than it could give by receiving him among its members; and this circumstance of course must make his decision doubly regrettable to those who are jealous for the credit of a body which found room for the intellect of a Cullen and the piety of an Antonelli, while Rosmini, Dupanloup, and Darboy were studiously excluded from the charmed circle. There would have been something congruous in seeing the man, whose old College at Oxford has unanimously enrolled his name, though an alien from his former creed, among her honorary fellows, also enrolled in that Sacred College which for many centuries has held the highest rank in the communion to which he has transferred his brilliant services. And when we think of other names inscribed where his is omitted, it is difficult to reflect without a smile or a sigh on the capricious distribution of human titles and dignities. Dr. Newman's fame indeed needs no tinsel gilding, and to himself personally such external adjuncts will be matter of less than indifference. But it is well at least that he should not have been suffered to pass away without an offer of the highest distinction his Church had to bestow, and well that Leo XIII. should have had the wisdom and the courage to offer it.

#### THE VOLUNTEERS AND THE WAR OFFICE.

THE Committee appointed by the Secretary of State to inquire into the finances and organization of the Volunteer force did wisely to get the scheme for raising an Active Service Legion out of the way before addressing themselves to serious business. In the preparation of the short separate Report in which they examine this singular proposal, the gravity of the members of the Committee must have been sorely tried. The plan was certainly one of the wildest ever submitted to a department of the Government. Its authors proposed to raise 150,000 men, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, with a complete organization and commissariat, and ready to take the field at short notice. Each of these men would draw a capitation grant of 2*l.* from the Government, which was also to supply arms, clothing, equipment, horses, and material, together with transport waggons and appliances. This imposing scheme, which really involved the creation of a separate army unconnected with the regular forces on one side or with the Volunteers on the other, rested on a practical foundation of 380 men. This, at least, was the number from whom direct promises of support had been received. Of these 380 some 125 are already Volunteers, and would therefore have to leave one branch of the service in order to enter another, while 145 more were candidates for commissions in the regular army, and only cared to have something to employ them until such time as they got, or failed to get, the appointments they wanted. No evidence whatever was offered to show why the remaining 110 should be likely to develop into a complete army of 150,000 men; and, even if this huge number—three-fourths of the existing Volunteer force—were to be enrolled, the authors of the scheme could suggest no guarantee that the men would be forthcoming when they were wanted. General Raines, the President of the Committee which had the charge of the scheme, admits that this part of the question has "not been sufficiently considered." Inasmuch as the object of raising a separate army, enlisted and officered on a basis special to itself, would be greatly interfered with if the men either did not come forward to enlist, or, having enlisted, could not be found when their services were required, it is a pity that General Raines and his colleagues did not give a little more thought to the subject before taking up the time of the War Office authorities. The witnesses examined by the Committee acknowledged that the class from which they expected their men to come would not materially differ from that which supplies recruits to the regular army and the militia; but they failed to show any particulars in which the prospect which they proposed to hold out would be so superior to that held out by ordinary enlistment as to attract men whom neither the army nor the militia have been able to attract. The idea in their minds seems to be that "2½ per cent. of the able-bodied males in England" will find attraction in the thought of a contingent military service, which is only to become actual in the event of the country being engaged in a foreign war. But, as the Committee point out, men who do not want to join the army in time of peace have nothing to do but to postpone enlistment until war is declared. As the scheme contemplates their continuance in their

civil occupations until such time as their services are needed, the training they are to receive during peace could not be very different from that which is open to them in the existing Volunteer force. All that they have to do, therefore, is to become Volunteers now, and to enlist in the regular army whenever a war comes. As a large number of recruits will then be invited to join who will be disbanded as soon as the war is over, this will come to very much the same thing as enlisting now in an Active Service Legion.

The Committee had got through this part of their work by the 8th of July, and the next six months were devoted to the consideration of the existing Volunteer organization. They do not propose to make any change in the terms under which Volunteers are enlisted. They see no reason why Volunteers should not, as at present, be allowed to withdraw on giving fourteen days' notice, but they suggest that a plan which is now followed in a large number of regiments should be made universal, and that each Volunteer should enter into a civil engagement with his commanding officer to serve for four years or to pay a fixed sum. In this way there would be an assurance that the money spent on the recruit's uniform would be repaid either out of the capitation grant or out of the forfeit-money. The Committee further propose that an additional inducement be given to remain in the force by allowing service for eight years to exempt a Volunteer from liability to serve in the Militia—a liability which, under the present law, revives as soon as a man ceases to be a Volunteer, no matter how long he may have been one. The recommendations relating to the consolidation and amalgamation of administrative regiments and small battalions are too technical to have much interest for unprofessional readers. There can be no need indeed to set forth the advantages derived from any change which helps to make the Volunteers an integral part of the infantry brigade in each district, and so admits of the force being "more effectively utilized for the purposes detailed in the mobilization scheme." The Committee wisely abstain from recommending increased powers of enforcing attendance at drill. "Such powers," they say, "if carried out strictly, would operate unequally . . . thereby endangering the popularity of the force"; while, if not carried out strictly, they would be a dead letter. If, indeed, the capitation grant were paid for all Volunteers, it would be necessary to take stringent precautions against the waste of public money. Inasmuch, however, as it is only paid for efficient Volunteers, the Government has only to take care that the standard of efficiency is raised sufficiently high. Upon this point the Committee propose a change of some importance. At present a recruit, in order to earn the capitation grant, has to attend thirty drills in his first year and nine drills in every succeeding year. The recommendation of the Committee is that sixty drills shall be required in the first two years, of which thirty must be, and fifty-one may be, made in the first year, while thirty may be, and nine must be, made in the second. They also suggest that a physical standard and a maximum limit of age should be adopted for recruits. At present so long as the regulations about drill are complied with, the capitation grant cannot be refused, though the Volunteer may be four feet high or be well on in his second childhood.

There is one point connected with the efficiency of the force to which it is strange that the Committee should have made no reference. It is generally admitted that field-days in which the Volunteers can be brigaded with the regular army are as valuable as the caricatures of them of which the Brighton downs used to be the scene were worthless. In London, at all events, and probably in other great towns, the only days on which manœuvres on a large scale can be held are the summer Bank-holidays. These days, however, are given up by the Railway Companies to excursion traffic; and, as this is too profitable to be foregone for the Volunteers, the two or three opportunities in the year which are all that many Volunteers can ever hope to have of joining in military movements on a large scale are lost. There seems to be no reason why the military authorities should not have the power of fixing the place for a field-day on two at least of the four Bank holidays, and of compelling the railways to make the same provision for carrying the Volunteers as they have to make for the conveyance of regular troops. Of course this power would have to be used with discrimination. It would be important not to interfere unnecessarily with the ordinary holiday-makers, and to distribute the burden evenly over the various railways. But, subject to these and similar considerations, there is no reason why the railways, enjoying as they do so many valuable and exclusive privileges, should not be compelled to place their machinery at the service of the State on a few exceptional days in return for fair payment.

The Franco-German war virtually decided the dress of the English Volunteers. The original idea was that the simplest possible dress, one which should approach as nearly as possible to an ordinary useful shooting suit, would be most convenient and appropriate for men who it was vaguely supposed would be chiefly useful in picking off the enemy at long distances and from behind hedges. This, in fact, was very much the theory on which the Franco-tireurs were embodied, but the German commanders very soon put an end to it by giving notice that no soldiers who were not clothed in some permanent and recognizable uniform would be allowed the immunities of combatants. It was then discovered that the kind of uniform which had occasionally been recommended to the Volunteers would in all probability have led its wearers to certain and speedy execution, and when once the



sharpshooter theory was upset, the advantages attending the adoption of a uniform bearing as close a likeness as possible to the uniform of the regular army were seen to be very great. Even already scarlet has been adopted by a large number of corps, and newly raised corps and corps which desire to change their uniform are compelled to take the national colour. The Committee recommend that what is now the exception should be made the rule. The financial advantages of the Volunteers wearing a common dress, and that dress the same as that of the regular army, would be great. It would enable each corps to be supplied at cost price, with the materials either cut out or in the piece, instead of, as now, being usually left to the mercies of local tradesmen. The real reason, however, for the change is the fact that the military authorities think it would be impossible, if the force were ever called out for service, that it should be clothed in the present haphazard fashion; and, as the Committee truly remark, "confusion would certainly arise in re-clothing the force at the very moment when matters of more importance required attention." The remedy for this is, gradually and with sufficient notice to each corps, to insist on the uniform being modelled, as regards colour and pattern, upon that of the regular army. There is only one other point in this report which seems to call for notice; but this, if we could believe that the idea was likely to be carried out, would be the most important of all. The Committee recommend, with the approval of the Secretary of State, that a maximum number should be assigned to the Volunteer force, though there is a difference between them and Colonel Stanley as to whether the maximum should be 200,000 or 250,000 men. The Committee allege no argument in favour of this extraordinary recommendation, and, as they have not been equally chary of their reasons upon points which are at once less important and less open to question, it seems natural to suppose that they have none to bring forward. It is to be hoped that Parliament will not uphold the Government in refusing the services of competent Volunteers, merely to save the slight addition to the Army Estimates which an increase in the capitation grant entails.

#### THE RUSSIAN DEBT.

AT a moment when a great Russian loan is daily expected to be launched, it would be desirable to ascertain exactly the indebtedness of the Empire of the Czar; but it is by no means easy to do so. Not that there is any lack of official literature on the subject. Quite the contrary; we have abundance of statistics; only, unfortunately, they do not always agree, and, for other reasons besides, do not inspire the confidence in their trustworthiness which Government information ought to command. For example, we have had within the past couple of months two distinct statements of the amount of the debt at the end of 1877—one contained in the Report of the Controller of the Empire on the definitive regulation of the Budget for that year; the other consisting of a detailed account of the operation of the sinking fund in the same year, given by the Finance Minister at the annual meeting of the Council of the Credit Establishments of the Empire, under the presidency of the Grand Duke Constantine; and we find a discrepancy of several millions between the two. We shall not attempt to reconcile them; but we mention the fact to justify our warning that the figures we are about to give can be regarded as no better than approximations. They state the minimum of the debt; for we may be sure that the obligations acknowledged by the Russian Government all exist. But there may be other liabilities, which are concealed for the sake of maintaining public credit.

According to the Report of the Controller of the Empire, which professes to include all liabilities involving a charge upon the revenue, the debt at the beginning of 1877, exclusive of the inconvertible paper currency and of the obligations incurred on account of the railways, amounted to 1,941,590,224 paper roubles. During the year it was augmented by 200,700,000 roubles and 15,000,000 sterling. The paper rouble was then worth about two shillings of our money, and, converting it at that rate, the debt was altogether at the end of the year but little under 230,000,000 sterling. It is to be borne in mind, however, that these figures represent only its value in depreciated paper—the sum, that is, in gold which would redeem it, supposing anybody had the means of redemption. If the rouble ever rises towards its nominal value, 3s. 2d., the amount of the debt will rise with it. And if it reaches par the total will be almost 350,000,000. In addition to this debt there were, at the end of 1877, railway obligations amounting in round numbers to 68½ millions sterling; against which, however, is to be set the debt due by the railways to the State. There was also the debt on account of the emancipation of the peasants; against which, again, must be set the annuities paid by the peasants. And, lastly, there is the debt of Finland, which is separate from that of Russia. Possibly, also, there were debts by other provinces of which we have no account. The amount of the debt is, however, of very much less importance than the charge it imposes upon the taxpayers. Nobody is so simple as to expect that the Russian debt will ever be cleared off. New wars, new railways, new enterprises of every kind will increase it; but its redemption is out of the question, at least within any time which we of the present generation can contemplate in our speculations. The charge has, however, to be provided for every year under

pain of bankruptcy, and the burden which it imposes is what is of real concern to the population and to investors inquiring whether Russian stock offers them reasonable security. Now, according to the Controller of the Empire, the charge of the debt amounted in 1877 to 11,509,000l., still reckoning ten roubles to the pound. The total revenue amounted to 54,834,000l., so that the debt charge constituted almost twenty-one per cent. of the revenue. But we have already seen that during the year the increase of debt amounted to about 35,000,000l. sterling, upon most of which interest would first become chargeable only in the following year. The real burden of the debt is consequently not expressed by those figures, and, in fact, can really not be determined until the cost of the war is funded.

The figures we have been dealing with so far bring us down to the end of 1877, but in the course of last year there was issued a further loan of 300 million roubles, or 30,000,000l. sterling, which has to be added to the debt above stated. In addition, the Bank of Russia, which in this case is but another name for the Russian Government, emitted 150 millions of roubles in the form of bonds. And, lastly, we have to take note of the paper currency with which the Empire has been flooded since the war with Turkey began. Our readers are aware that Russia was previously under the *régime* of inconvertible paper. Before the war the paper circulation was about 720 million roubles, and with that amount the rouble was worth about 2s. 8d., its nominal value being 3s. 2d. The depreciation was, therefore, sixpence in the rouble, or almost 16 per cent., showing that even then the currency was in excess. Since hostilities began there have been issued about 480 million roubles in "notes" and "notes to order." In consequence the depreciation of the rouble has gone so far that it is now worth only a fraction over 1s. 10d. Thus the depreciation since the beginning of the war is almost 30 per cent., and the total depreciation is almost 46 per cent. The evils resulting from this state of things have excited much attention in Russia, and a lively controversy is going on as to the best means of removing them. The general feeling is that a loan must be negotiated for the purpose of withdrawing the war issues. Whether this is done or not, these issues are debt, though they do not bear interest. By their help the Government was able, when its credit abroad failed and its own subjects had not the means of lending to it, to defray the enormous expenses which its invasion of Turkey involved. Sooner or later, of course, the notes must be withdrawn. Adding them, then, to the loan of last year and the bank bonds, we get, over and above the debt stated by the Controller of the Empire as existing at the end of 1877, further liabilities amounting to 930 million roubles, or, still converting at two shillings, 93,000,000l. sterling. Without reckoning the railway obligations we thus get a total of 320,394,647l. sterling as the debt of Russia at the present time. In this sum, it will be understood, there is included neither the inconvertible paper circulating before the war, nor any liability on account of emancipation, or the like. It is the debt pure and simple of the Empire, against which there is no set-off. About 120,000,000l. sterling of it is due to the war.

It took four or five years to ascertain the total cost to France of her contest with Germany, and it is probable that Russia will not make up her accounts more quickly. The military authorities at the seat of war were of course obliged to incur debt on many accounts. There are railway claims still to be determined. And possibly munitions and arms were purchased in Germany upon credit. It is almost certain, therefore, that the cost of the war, which we have just estimated at 120,000,000l. sterling, will yet be considerably swollen. Moreover all the expenses of evacuation have to be incurred. And, lastly, the funding of the floating debt will be very costly. Loans can be placed only at a great discount. The existing stock, for instance, is not much above 80, and it is certain that a new loan of large amount could not be floated at that figure. We shall be under the mark, therefore, if we assume that, when the floating debt is funded, and the new issues of paper withdrawn, the increase to the permanent debt will be not less than 150,000,000l. sterling. At 5 per cent. the interest upon this sum would be 7,500,000l. This consequently represents the cost to Russia of the invasion of Turkey. Future generations of Russians will through all time have to pay 7½ millions sterling, or else to redeem the capital represented by it, in consequence of the war. The total charge of the debt, as it will include sinking fund, will exceed 18,000,000l., which is one-third of the total revenue raised in 1877. Our own debt charge constitutes about the same proportion; but there is a vast difference in the condition of the two countries. In England we could, if there was urgent need, double our existing revenue. In Russia, on the contrary, the limits of taxation are reached, or very nearly so. The Government hopes, indeed, that the new imposts it has laid on will put an end to the recurring deficits, but it is very doubtful whether they will do so. At any rate, nobody disputes that the new taxation is oppressive, or that it is extremely difficult to find a better system. The charge on account of debt will amount, therefore, when the funding is completed, to very nearly one-third of the total revenue which it is possible to raise in Russia. The fact would not imply so much, only that the cost of the army swallows up the bulk of what remains, leaving little for civil administration, education, and public improvements.

## THE THEATRES.

A REMARKABLE epoch in the history of the British stage will, it seems, be soon arrived at. The "last weeks" of *Our Boys* at the Vaudeville Theatre have been advertised. The announcement may stimulate those people who have never gone to see the play, on the same principle which constantly prevents the inhabitants of great cities from becoming acquainted with the sights that serve as a constant attraction to strangers; and, as *Our Boys* has grown to be as much a constant institution as Madame Tussaud's or the Polytechnic, it is probable that there are a great many such people. It is possible also that some persons may have acquired a habit of going to see *Our Boys* as others get into the way of drinking a particular wine after dinner, and to them its withdrawal will assume the aspect of a personal grievance. The matter might prove a convenient subject for agitation, and perhaps an eminent statesman might be persuaded to write a post-card concerning it. Future historians of the theatre may either be puzzled to account for the unprecedented run which the play has had, or may conclude that what attracted audiences for so long must have been of the very highest merit, and regard the work with a reverence proportionate to its recorded success. In that case a fresh field will be opened to commentators, and the labours of "The New *Our Boys* Society" will no doubt be as useful, as learned, and as edifying as those of Messrs. Furnivall and Fleay. He will be fortunate who recognizes the causes of these things; for our own part we cannot attempt to discover them, and must be content with rejoicing that *Our Boys*, whatever its merits and faults may be, has at any rate owed nothing of its success to an unhealthy taste in either author, actors, or audience.

It would be difficult to say as much for some plays which have been highly popular, and it is an unpleasantly significant fact that, on the first production of *Truth* at the Criterion Theatre, many persons in the audience were buoyed with expectations which were happily disappointed, and attempted with indifferent success to affix a vicious meaning to sentences in themselves harmless enough. Some time ago (February 16, 1878) we called attention to an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in which M. Delpit described the evil influence exerted by some of the Parisian *cafés-concerts*, and the danger of that influence being increased. The equally pernicious character of many London music-halls has now become so notorious that the Middlesex Magistrates, having suddenly discovered that their wisdom and strength are not superlative, have gone in a deputation to the Home Secretary to beg him to take some action in the matter. Mr. Cross not unnaturally wished to know if the Middlesex Magistrates really could not do their own work before assuming himself any new responsibility, but promised to have the matter carefully looked into by the police. This is all very well so far as it goes; but it is difficult to see how the functions of censorship are to be undertaken by policemen, even if they have passed competitive examinations. There is no doubt that some remedy ought to be found for an evil which is as insidious as it is corrupting, and which has threatened to creep from music-halls to theatres. The danger is the greater because what would seem perfectly harmless in the eyes of an Examiner of Plays, reading a manuscript, may very easily be made to bear an unpleasant meaning by means of emphasis, byplay, or merely by the wish of some of the audience, who have acquired a thoroughly vicious taste at music-halls or elsewhere, to attach such a meaning to it. In view of this undoubted danger, it is the more gratifying to find that the attempt to affix to *Truth* such a reputation as was attached rightly or wrongly to the *Pink Dominoes* has not been successful. In saying this, we have no wish to indicate that *Truth* is in any sense a good play. On the contrary, it is a not very brilliant farce spun out into three acts, and becoming, by dint of such spinning out, disagreeable in motive. No reasonable person could be indignant or vexed at the lies told in, for instance, *Box and Cox*, and if *Truth* were played in one scene, it might be as amusing as any of Mr. Maddison Morton's farces, all of which it resembles in depending entirely upon situations and business. To put such a piece of work into three acts, and call it an original comedy, is a proceeding which shows a defiant scepticism as to the good taste of the London playgoing public. The leading intention of the piece which involves four men in a scrape out of which they have to lie themselves, and which compels them to brave as boldly as they can the wrath of a terrifying woman who is mother-in-law to one of them, is, if by no means new, at least ingenious; but three acts are but wearily drawn out to support it, and the boastful announcement in the playbill that "the interest of the Comedy is maintained up to the final Tableau," only serves to call attention to the poverty of the playwright's invention. The piece comes from America, but has plainly passed through the hands of an English adapter who has made it a stupidly motley affair. Various American phrases and American references are left untouched, but are supplemented by sayings which could only appeal to an English audience. Some good acting is thrown away upon a piece which might make excellent material for what is now called a "ballet-pantomime," but which it is absolutely ridiculous to call a comedy, whether original or not. Mr. Wyndham is very vivacious in the principal character, but his acting seems to have suffered from tolerably constant employment in pieces which are certainly not of a high order. His facial expression is clever, and his gestures are easy, and perhaps that is about all that one ought to demand from the player of the chief character in a bustling

farce; but, when the farce is stretched out to three acts, certain frequently repeated expressions and actions become somewhat monotonous. Mr. Standing plays the part of a consummate hypocrite with great skill, but injures the effect of his acting by an unhappy accent. Mr. W. J. Hill brings a comic force, and Mr. Carton a quiet finish, to bear upon material which ill repays their trouble. Mrs. Stephens, as the dreaded mother-in-law, is, whenever she gets a chance, extremely funny. We have said nothing of the dialogue of this piece, which is, in truth, an elaborate pantomime; but it may be desirable to point out that it is not as yet customary for gentlemen to swear in conversation with a lady. *Truth* is preceded by a comedietta called *Orange Blossoms*, the whole weight of which hangs upon, and is well supported by, Mr. Carton. The part which he plays was apparently meant for a low comedian, but he approaches it with signal success from the point of view of light comedy. He is natural, apparently spontaneous, and without effort comic, and his performance makes one desirous to see him in something more worthy of his growing talent.

The revival of *Caste* at the Prince of Wales's Theatre derives a special interest from the announcement that Mrs. Bancroft is playing for the last time a part with which she is so identified that one cannot imagine its being taken by any one else, and from the appearance of Messrs. Clayton and Cecil in characters which were beforehand supposed not to be well suited to either of them. The event has proved that the manager was wise in his distribution of parts. Mr. Clayton's acting has been found fault with by some and apologized for by other critics. It seems to us to need no apology, and to have but little fault. Mr. Clayton is, or was, a trifle heavy in the first act, but he plays in the second and third with true understanding and feeling, and gives throughout a striking picture of a good-natured, good-hearted dragoon, with sure if slow perceptions. We can well understand that people who have only seen D'Alroy played as a mere *jeune premier* part might be disappointed with Mr. Clayton's rendering of the character; but his view of it is in the main the same as that taken by the late Mr. Young, who was its first representative; and in saying that at some points Mr. Clayton was more pathetic and more impressive than Mr. Young we are giving him very high praise. Mr. Cecil's performance of Sam Gerridge is another agreeable disappointment to those who feared that the part might not be suited to his powers. For our own part we believe that Mr. Cecil's powers have yet to find their utmost fulfilment, and that meanwhile there are few parts in the range of comedy or comedy-drama beyond his reach. Mr. Cecil, who is, as always, unconventional and finished, is in a different way quite as amusing in the comic passages of the part as was the accomplished actor who preceded him in it; and in the one opportunity afforded to him in the last act he displays that power of deep and true pathos which found fuller expression in his performance of Tourbillon in *To Parents and Guardians*. Mrs. Bancroft's charming performance of Polly Eccles, hovering between smiles and tears, is so well known that it is needless to say more than that we are sorry to learn that this is the last occasion on which it will be presented. Miss Roselle's rendering of Esther has considerable merit, especially in emotional passages, but is at times a little stogy. Of Mr. Bancroft's admirably foppish Hawtree it is not necessary to say anything in detail. Mr. Honey's Eccles is equally well known, and in a certain sense equally admirable. Considered by itself, the performance is one of singular truth and merit; but it is too pronounced for its studiously toned down surroundings, and therefore serves to draw attention to the false moral of the clever play to which it belongs. If Eccles were represented as a less offensive drunkard, in other words, less literally, one would be less struck by the monstrous folly of D'Alroy, and would think the position of his mother in utterly repudiating such a connexion less incontrovertible.

At the Olympic Mr. Clifford Harrison has appeared in the part of Pierre in *The Two Orphans*, which has been given up by Mr. Neville in view of his approaching appearance in *The Crimson Cross* at the Adelphi. Mr. Harrison has hitherto been known only as a reciter, and there is no reason in the nature of things why an excellent reciter should not be an indifferent actor. There is, indeed, if we remember right, a stage tradition to the effect that the two faculties are rarely allied. There is certainly an obvious and wide distinction between them. Recitation is as much injured by too great a display of gesture and facial expression as acting is by too little; and it might have been feared that a person accustomed for some time past to reciting might find himself somewhat lost on the stage, and might by force of habit produce effects which would seem spirited enough in a drawing-room, but would be tame in a theatre. Mr. Harrison may be congratulated on having successfully avoided the dangers which might have been feared for him, and having fulfilled extremely well his by no means easy task of succeeding an established and justly popular actor. It was not unnatural that Mr. Harrison should at first appear to suffer from nervousness; but, as the play went on, he steadily improved, and in the two situations which call for strong emotion he played with true feeling and fire. In the second of these, the well-managed fight in the garret, the actor gave a fine and delicate touch to Pierre's character by assuming a look of horror and remorse as soon as he realized that he had actually stabbed his infamous brother. Mr. Harrison's practice as a reciter has stood him in good stead in giving him an elocution which is clear and correct even in the expression of strong emotion. On the whole, his performance deserves much praise in itself, and is full of promise for the future.



## REVIEWS.

WALPOLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND SINCE 1815.\*

MR. WALPOLE'S elaborate History, which for the present extends to 1830, may probably become a standard work. In a short preface containing an apology for his purpose of bringing the narrative down to 1862, he answers, by reference to the authority of Macaulay, the supposed objection that the events to be recorded are too recent for judicial treatment. He might have added that a contemporary historian has some advantages which may counterbalance an unavoidable partiality. The latest part of Mr. Walpole's intended work will be within his own memory, and most of the characters and transactions of which it treats are probably familiar to him by oral tradition. In politics, although a contrary inference might have been drawn from his *Life of Perceval*, Mr. Walpole is a moderate and consistent Liberal, deeply imbued with the principles and with the commonplaces of his party. Macaulay, who is his literary model, was scarcely a more thoroughgoing Whig. After an interval of sixty years, Mr. Walpole, with laudable fidelity to tradition, finds it possible to feel indignant at the penal laws, the rotten boroughs, and the Six Acts passed by Lord Sidmouth. From his own candid account students may learn that some of the Six Acts were reasonable and just, that the remainder were not rigorously enforced, and that excessive precautions against a real and temporary danger soon became obsolete; but Mr. Walpole has studied the legislation of sixty years ago in the speeches of the Opposition and in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, and he reproduces the genuine or ostensible irritation and alarm of the day, without applying to an erroneous forecast the correction of later experience. It is the office of historical imagination first to represent to itself past scenes in their original form and then to reduce them to their true perspective. In using materials which he has collected with assiduity and judgment, Mr. Walpole sometimes is deficient in a sense of proportion. With longer practice he will probably learn to appreciate more fully the expediency of omission; and perhaps he may find it worth while at some future time to revise and abridge the introductory portion of his book. The superiority of the second volume to the first justifies the expectation of improvement in a style which is already copious, spirited, and full of matter. An imitation of Macaulay, which can scarcely be unconscious, may be excused in the composition of a young writer; but the brilliant mannerism which is sometimes tiresome as practised by the master cannot be recommended to copyists. Antithesis often involves one inaccurate statement, if not two, and paradox generally helps itself out by exaggeration. Mr. Walpole asserts, in the manner of Macaulay, that "Lord Brougham might have attained the eminence of Fox as a politician, of Erskine as an advocate, of Playfair as a mathematician, of Herschel as an astronomer, of Hallam as an historian. He tried to rival all these characters in their various stations; and, in consequence, though he ran a good second to them all, he did not win quite the first place in the race." There is not the smallest reason for believing that Brougham would have been eminent under any conditions as an astronomer, a mathematician, which is nearly the same thing, or an historian. In eloquence he may have been nearly equal to Fox or to Erskine, but he was remarkably deficient in the tact and prudence which are indispensable to a great advocate. The whole paragraph suggests a doubt not only whether Mr. Walpole's remarks are just, but whether they have any but a rhetorical purpose. His literary taste is less sound than his political judgment. It was not necessary to insert in a history a special chapter on literature, of which it is enough to say that Mr. Walpole holds Dryden to be a greater poet than Spenser, and Moore to be a greater poet than Wordsworth. Moore himself knew better when he spoke of Wordsworth as a poet in the highest sense, and not *quales ego vel Civiens*. The whole of Mr. Walpole's disquisition on the writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries might be suppressed with advantage.

Mr. Walpole, on full consideration, has preferred the plan of "dealing with each subject in a separate episode" to the narration of events in chronological order. "The author who deliberately adopts the [episodic] method has, at any rate, the satisfaction of knowing that he has rejected the easier for the more laborious method, and that his choice has not therefore been dictated by any consideration for his own convenience." There is no moral merit in mere self-sacrifice. The rules of art generally coincide with the convenience both of authors and of readers. Adherence to chronological order involves the pleasant sense of having finally done with a period and with everything which it includes. Mr. Walpole, having completed his domestic or financial history down to 1827, has to return to 1815 to take up the thread of the Catholic question, and again to record the course of foreign policy. The effect resembles the impression produced by the ninth or tenth repetition of the ghastly story of the murder in *The Ring and the Book*. Mr. Walpole is similarly compelled to explain five or six times over the superiority in Liberal opinions of Canning to Castlereagh and of Huskisson to Vansittart; but he is fully justified in taking credit to himself for the indefatigable industry which is not the least quality of a historian. The authorities which he has con-

sulted, if not recondite, are extraordinarily voluminous, and they have been judiciously selected. The labour of searching Hansard alone for debates and Reports of Committees must have been severe and irksome. The numerous memoirs of the time have supplied much valuable information; and Mr. Walpole rightly appreciates the utility of such journals as those of Lord Colchester and Mr. Greville. The amusement and instruction of the community, and the supply of materials for such historians as Mr. Walpole, may in some degree compensate for the shock inflicted on a few sensitive persons by the publication of scraps of gossip about the friends of their grandmothers. The book is a repository of knowledge, which is the more serviceable because the writer has had the good sense to prefix to each volume a table of contents, and to append a carefully compiled index. A certain immaturity in the art of composition is indicated by the practice of beginning every subject from its remotest origin. The Spanish Revolution of 1821 is introduced by an account of Isabella the Catholic, and the manufactures of 1815 are traced back to the institution of the traditional woollack. If Mr. Walpole had written the Iliad he would have gone back, not only to the eggs of Leda, but to the legendary history of every hero who took part in the Trojan war. A full and lucid account of some of the principal inventions, on which the industrial prosperity of England was founded, is interesting in itself, but the details are out of place in a history. Accounts, which might almost serve as specifications for patents, of the fly-shuttle, the drop-box, the spinning-jenny, and the power-loom, only concern the historian as the different devices served their several purposes and as they contributed to the production of national wealth. In recording a cavalry action it would be a redundancy to describe the anatomy and physiology of the horse. It may be readily admitted that superfluity is both a smaller fault and a more promising symptom than deficiency of matter. Mr. Walpole has the energy and indiscriminate curiosity of youth; and he will have abundant opportunity of pruning down hereafter a possibly excessive luxuriance. Never displaying weariness himself, he stimulates the attention even of the cold-blooded critic who nevertheless grumbles at the crowding of incongruous topics. Nature has wisely provided the ordinary human memory with interstices through which many things which were once known pass into oblivion. A few minds, like Macaulay's, are constructed without apertures; but books ought to be written for the average intellect. The student of history scarcely cares to learn that in the spinning-jenny "the rovings, when extended to the spindles, passed between two horizontal bars of wood, forming a clasp, which opened and shut something like a parallel ruler." It is more to his purpose to consider whether it was wrong to give higher titles to great generals than to ingenious inventors. The moral and intellectual qualities which are required for the construction of a useful machine are not necessarily proportional to the material result; but some of the great mechanicians were remarkable for general ability; and it is satisfactory to know that, if Watt and Arkwright were not created dukes, they left large fortunes.

When Mr. Walpole has finished all his preliminary disquisitions, his narrative becomes more rapid and more interesting. His account of the Greek insurrection and of the contemporary intrigues and negotiations of Russia is full and instructive without being diffuse. The history of the political changes which preceded and followed Lord Liverpool's retirement requires some correction and addition. By a careful study of the authorities, and especially of the Wellington Despatches, Mr. Walpole may satisfy himself that Canning neither intended nor wished the Duke to accept his formal offer of a place in the Cabinet. He is apparently not aware that Canning had some time before acquired the personal favour of the King by means which the Duke of Wellington suspected and resented. Prince and Princess Lieven had for their own purposes persuaded George IV. to renounce his former prejudices against the Foreign Secretary, who on his part received the Royal overtures with simple-minded gratitude. The agents of Nicholas had no difficulty in distinguishing between "the friends and foes of Russia," and they well knew that, after his mission to St. Petersburg, the Duke of Wellington profoundly distrusted the Emperor. Their efforts were therefore successfully directed to the elevation of his rival; and during his subsequent tenure of office the Duke was well aware that the Lievens were constantly intriguing against him. In his account of the formation of Lord Goderich's short-lived Cabinet, Mr. Walpole does great injustice to an upright and meritorious public servant who afterwards involuntarily contributed to the overthrow of the Government. From Mr. Walpole's statement it appears that Mr. Herries was induced against his own wish to become Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that he afterwards refused, with proper self-respect, to acquiesce in Huskisson's encroachment on the rights and duties of his office. Mr. Herries was ready to resign, but not to assent to an appointment which ought not to have been made without his approval. By reference to his own accurate account of the transaction, Mr. Walpole will find that he is inconsistent as well as unjust in republishing some calumnies of the day which were directed against the character of Mr. Herries by political or personal spite. In general Mr. Walpole is remarkably fair to political opponents. If the tone of his History is too controversial, he may cite in his defence the example of many eminent writers. While Alison proved that Providence was on the side of the Tories, Macaulay incessantly contended that right and reason were on the side of the Whigs. Even historians of ancient Greece have, from Mitford to Grote, habitually and earnestly attacked or defended Republican insti-

\* *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815*. By Spencer Walpole. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

tutions. Hume's apparently colourless History was written with a Tory purpose; and Gibbon's impartiality was modified by the exceptions which were acutely denoted by Porson. The embers over which Mr. Walpole has to walk are covered by a thinner layer of ashes; yet, in treating of events which occurred fifty years ago, he would do well to forget that he is a partisan. None of the few survivors who recollect the reign of George IV. are still engaged in public life; and the political issues on which the followers of Grey, of Wellington, or of Canning were divided are for the most part obsolete. A perfect historian would efface himself as completely as Homer or Shakspeare. The memory of famous men and of great events may be preserved in history, as formerly in verse, without a didactic purpose. It may be impossible, and perhaps it would be undesirable, to exclude the occasional expression of moral judgment; but Mr. Walpole is mistaken in his aspiration for the judicial impartiality which he has certainly not attained. The historian, indeed, ought to be impartial; but his function as a judge is to estimate the value of evidence rather than to enunciate the law. If Mr. Walpole is too much bent on the inculcation of political doctrines, he may claim the credit of having laboriously accumulated facts by which the soundness of his theories may be tested. The lesson which he is principally anxious to teach is sound, and may be occasionally useful. Since the changes of the last sixty years have been generally for the better, it may be reasonably inferred that innovation is not in all cases objectionable. That the party of movement must be always and everywhere in the right is a more doubtful conclusion.

#### ABBOTT'S CORRESPONDENCE DURING THE AFGHAN WAR.\*

THE gallant officer whose journals and correspondence during the first Afghan war have now been published under the superintendence of Mr. Low was the eldest of a family of five brothers, all of whom earned some distinction in the Indian service. One of them was the present Sir Frederic Abbott, a well-known officer of the old Bengal Engineers—a corps which has been singularly productive of able officers; and another, the late General James Abbott of the Bengal Artillery, whose chivalrous and daring journey to Khiva gained for him a deserved reputation, apart from his admirable services in after years as a political officer on the Punjab frontier. Augustus Abbott, the eldest brother, was born in 1804. After a short term of school-life at Winchester and passing through Addiscombe, he was appointed to the Bengal Artillery at the age of fifteen, and soon became known as an active intelligent young officer, excelling in field sports. His first share in active service was at the siege of Bhurtpoor in 1825, when the virgin fortress, which had held out successfully against the otherwise invincible Lake, finally succumbed to the more methodical and carefully planned attack of Lord Combermere. Here Abbott did good work in charge of a battery of 18-pounder guns, and gained what was for a subaltern a considerable reputation from his active spirit as well as from his outspoken manner of speech. After this exploit of capturing Bhurtpoor, the Indian army had nothing to do until the invasion of Afghanistan in 1838, when Abbott, now a captain of more than twenty years' service, was attached to Sir John Keane's force, in command of a 9-pounder field battery drawn by camels. Marching by way of the Bolan and Candabar, the route just now taken by Stewart's force, Abbott's battery was attached to the column which made the further advance by way of Ghuzni to Cabul, and later on to Jellalabad. From 1839 to the winter of 1841 Abbott and his battery—now horsed with the hardy cattle of the country, the camels having been found useless for draught purposes everywhere but on sandy soil—took an active and most useful part in the numerous expeditions to subdue risings and disturbances in various parts of the country which marked the term of our so-called tranquil occupation of Afghanistan. In the end of 1841, just before the final outbreak took place, Abbott's battery was stationed at Cabul, whither it had just returned from one of the numerous expeditions on which it was engaged, when it was sent out, with the 35th Native Infantry and detachments of other corps, to clear the Khoord-Cabul Pass, between Cabul and Jellalabad, which had been occupied by the insurgent Ghilzies. The columns met with so much opposition that General Sale, who, with the 13th Foot and the 37th Native Infantry, was marching towards India—the infatuated Government having determined to withdraw one of the three European regiments stationed in Afghanistan—turned back to help it. The insurrection was now fully developed, and the brigade, entangled in the passes between Cabul and Jellalabad, was hotly engaged day after day, with considerable loss. Eventually, a sort of temporary accommodation with the insurgents having been arrived at, Sale sent back the 37th Native Infantry to await the Envoy, Sir W. Macnaghten, who was about to return to India to become Governor of Bombay, and to escort him through the passes, and remained with the rest of his command, which thus included Abbott's battery, on the further side. It was now the end of October; the insurrection had declared itself at all points; Macnaghten's prospect of getting away had vanished; and the authorities at Cabul—if such a name can be given to the

feeble creatures who were ruining our affairs at that place—now ordered Sale to return thither to reinforce the garrison. But Sale, acting on the advice of his principal officers, decided against a return march through the passes, encumbered as the column was with sick and wounded, and moved instead on to Jellalabad, which place he determined to occupy for a time, awaiting events. One of the conditions of Elphinstone's disgraceful capitulation later on was that the garrison of Jellalabad should also evacuate its post and retire on the Punjab. This, as is well known, Sale refused to do, and in the celebrated defence of Jellalabad which followed Abbott and his battery took a brilliant share; indeed it is plain that the subject of this memoir must have been one of the most conspicuous among the band of leading spirits who inspired the defence. Throughout Abbott seems to have been almost ubiquitous, and as ingenious in improvising artillery expedients for eling out the resources of his slender magazine as forward in whatever fighting took place. This was Augustus Abbott's last active employment. Made a Brevet-Major and C.B. for his services on this occasion, the more complete recognition of his deserts took the form of a civil appointment in the Ordnance Commissariat; and thus, as so often happens, or used to happen in India, a good soldier was rewarded for his soldiery by being turned into a civilian. Except for a brief term, when he rose by seniority to be Commandant of the Bengal Artillery, shortly before its amalgamation with the Royal Artillery, Abbott never returned to regimental duty. He died in 1867.

Augustus Abbott belonged to a good stock, and was a fine specimen of the officer of courage and resource of which the Indian army has produced so many. As Mr. Low observes in his introduction:—

It is no uncommon circumstance in India for several members of one family to achieve distinction. Thus there are the three Lawrences, who each guided a province through the perilous times of the Mutiny; the three Conollys, and the three Broadfoots, who all showed talents of the highest order which a cruel fate nipped in the bud; also the Chamberlains, the Johnstons, the Bolklaus, the Mackenzies, and many other families whose names were familiar in India, but whom the advent of the Competition Wallah may drive out of the field, as it would have excluded those of Wellington and Nelson from the services of which they were the brightest ornaments, had the present rage for competition animated our forefathers. Clive was a dunce at school who would have been ignominiously span by the Civil Service Commissioners.

And Mr. Low goes on to express the hope that our rulers "may send out a race of statesmen as sagacious in council and bold in action as those sent out by John Company from his modest house of business in Leadenhall Street." Mr. Low and those whom he follows in these remarks make the mistake of assuming that the power so often developed by Indian officials was due to some secret virtue in their mode of appointment, as nominees of Directors of the Company, instead of tracing it to the real cause—the admirable practical education afforded by the responsible nature of the duties placed on them at an early age. No one has ever ventured to assert that the Court of Directors made any attempt to search out merit in the exercise of their patronage, or bestowed it in any other way than for the advancement of their own family, or in return for interest given in securing their own election. The whole enormous patronage of the Court was divided among the individual Directors and given away privately by them, no portion whatever being reserved as a recognition of the public services of distinguished English officials. One might just as well ascribe whatever ability was displayed in Parliament in the time of Walpole to his system of bribery, as credit the old system of nomination with the merit displayed by the nominees after they got to India. Every mode of selection excludes some class. Under the old nomination system every one was excluded, no matter how great his merits, who did not happen to be connected in some way with a Director of the Company; and many a potential Clive or Monro must have lost the chance of displaying his qualities from wanting this pass-key to the door of admission to the Indian service. Another common fallacy lies in the assumption that competitive examinations have had the effect of substituting a different class of candidates, intellectually and physically as well as socially, from those who formerly gained admission to the service by nomination. There is really no reason to suppose that competition has had this effect. What it has done is to raise the standard of education among the members of the public service, not the standard of ability. The men who might have been dunces under the old system, because they had no incentive to work, now take pains to prepare themselves for the test; and when people say that Clive or Lawrence would not have got into the service under the competition system because their school attainments were below the standard of the present day, they might as well say that Aristotle could not have taken a first class at Oxford because he was not acquainted with the works of the late Mr. John Stuart Mill. The men whom Mr. Low names, and almost all those who have distinguished themselves in India, are just the sort of men who would have done well at a competition if they had been trained for it. After all, competition does not raise the standard of natural ability; if all branches of employment are entered only through the medium of competition, it is obvious that the amount of talent available will be a constant quantity; and those who have most to do with the subsequent training of the selected candidates would probably ask, if competition gives them only the clever, what has become of the stupid ones?

The journals of Augustus Abbott would be found readable at any time, but they have of course a peculiar interest at the present moment, when our troops are marching over the same

\* *The Afghan War, 1838-42. From the Journal and Correspondence of the late Major-General Augustus Abbott, C.B., Royal (Bengal) Artillery.* By Charles Rathbone Low, I.N. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1879.



ground that Abbott's battery was so often engaged upon. One point brought out very strongly by a perusal of them is the extreme difficulty of conducting military operations in any part of Afghanistan from the want of roads. Although we occupied the country for nearly four years, we did nothing to remedy this deficiency. And it was to the wretched state of our communications throughout the country that our subsequent disasters were in a great measure due. That the Indian Government should have exercised no foresight in this matter was not surprising, considering that India itself was at that time almost roadless, and that the Government had not yet recognized the construction of means of communication to be a part of its duties. It is to be hoped that more foresight may be shown on the present occasion. But, if we are to judge from all that is to be heard, indecision and procrastination still govern the policy of the Indian authorities in carrying out the extension of communications on the North-West frontier. Yet two points may be postulated without hesitation as essential conditions of our holding any part of Afghanistan on a satisfactory tenure; the people of whatever tracts we occupy must be disarmed, and those tracts must be made practicable for wheel carriage. Happily mountain roads are usually less difficult to construct than roads in the plains.

The most interesting part of the book is that which deals with the defence of Jellalabad, and the reader will find in this case, as in so many other instances of a similar kind, that the truthful differs sensibly from the popular account. The battle of Plassey, as we know, was very near not being fought, and the defence of the Three Hundred under Leonidas reads differently when told in detail from the simple account received in our childhood. And so it turns out that the "illustrious" defence was very near having never taken place. When the demand was received at Jellalabad for its evacuation in compliance with the stipulations made by the panic-stricken authorities at Cabul, the majority of Sale's council of war were for acceding to the demand, and the resolution to do so was only postponed in the first instance on the motion of Captain Broadfoot, a man of great courage and determination. And when the letter was drafted consenting to the evacuation of the place, three officers only voted in the minority against the measure. Fortunately the Afghans, in their reply to the letter sent them, did not express agreement with all the stipulations made; further discussion followed, a change came over the opinions of some of those who had formed the majority, and eventually it was determined to hold the place. It appears, too, that the famous sortie made by the garrison in the beginning of April 1842, shortly before it was relieved by Pollock's advancing force, when the beleaguering army of Afghans was completely routed and the blockade of the place raised, was undertaken almost in defiance of the orders of the general commanding. The Afghans had fired a royal salute in honour of a reputed repulse of the relieving force under Pollock;

and it seemed to some of the officers of the garrison that the only course to pursue in this desperate state of affairs was to sally forth and break the investment by a general attack on Akbar's position and camp. Sir R. Sale, however, was averse to this measure; but Abbott, Oldfield, and other fiery spirits in camp insisted upon it with so much urgency, that at length the gallant old chief, who, though he loved fighting for fighting's sake, was fearful of incurring responsibility, consented to make a sally in force, and gave the necessary orders.

Thus, in fact, it was by something very like a mutiny—Abbott going the length of proposing that they should act without him—that Sir R. Sale was induced to make the famous sortie which constituted the chief claim of the garrison to the historic title of "illustrious." Abbott's own account is as follows:—

It was now necessary [the false rumour of Pollock's repulse having reached the garrison] to attack Akbar and beat him in order to obtain supplies for a further siege. Oldfield and I went round to all the heads of corps, and we determined to go in a body to the General and beg to be allowed to fight. We talked for an hour, using every argument in vain; but he dismissed us with a positive refusal. I proposed that we should quietly parade our men at 4 A.M. on the 7th, and go out before he was out of bed; but of all the party only three supported me, and the plan was abandoned. After two hours' consideration Sale sent for Oldfield and me, and agreed to go out.

If there had been a few mutinous officers of the same stamp at Cabul, to put the incompetent Elphinstone and his second in command under arrest and assume the management of affairs, the Cabul disaster would never have happened.

#### MEMOIR OF JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.\*

DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES has bestowed on his friend's memory what he himself describes as "but an outline, which may serve a present need, and perhaps be of some assistance to a future biographer." No complaint, at any rate, can be made that the sketch opens too late. Dr. Holmes mentions in the first page how Motley's "life was saved more than a hundred years before he was born." In 1708 the French with their Indian allies attacked the town of Haverhill in Massachusetts. A general massacre ensued; but Motley's great-great-grandmother was successfully concealed by a maidservant under a washtub. Proceeding to more historical incidents Dr. Holmes describes, from personal knowledge, a boyhood which was very promising, but somewhat perilous. Young Motley, with a singular charm of manner and,

according to Lady Byron, a closer outward resemblance to her husband than any other person she had ever met, displayed a precocious intelligence. His excessive quickness of apprehension was an actual snare to him. At school, where by a strange coincidence he had Mr. Bancroft for a teacher, he studied according to inclination rather than to rule. But he made the useful acquisition of a knowledge of German. At Harvard, where he matriculated at the age of thirteen, he made no effort, because he needed to make none. For some cause or other which Dr. Holmes does not specify, he was rusticated. Even when, somewhat sobered by the rebuff, he returned to college, his attention was not monopolized by the recognized subjects of an academical course. A tutor once remonstrated upon the pile of novels which loaded his table. "Yes," said Motley, "I am reading historically, and have come to the novels of the nineteenth century. Taken in the lump, they are very hard reading." Some of his class-mates have told Dr. Holmes that he had "no care for dress"; others that he "seemed to have a passion for dress." Dr. Holmes thinks both views right—he had no care for dress, and he only "seemed" to have a passion for it. College magazines, and what Dr. Holmes describes as "a slim monthly," edited by N. P. Willis, received the first fruits of his authorship. Christopher North in *Blackwood* was the political and literary model for himself and his college comrades.

But an American University, with its mimicry of manhood and affected contempt for the prejudices of the outside world, was a bad school for such a lad as Motley. It was well that in 1832, when he left Harvard, he was sent for a couple of years to Göttingen and Berlin. At both Universities he had for his familiar friend Prince Bismarck. The Prince, through the medium of his secretary, Herr Bucher, has contributed to Dr. Holmes's memoir some interesting notes of an old acquaintance which was continued when both were diplomatists. Bismarck was a member of a corps, and therefore, he intimates, not so addicted to study as the American student. Nevertheless they lived "in the closest intimacy," and at Berlin shared the same lodgings. Motley's conversation, the Prince testifies through Herr Bucher, sparkled with wit, humour, and originality. His appearance, especially his large and beautiful eyes, impressed every one, and ladies in particular. Prince Bismarck remembers him as "a pertinacious arguer, so much so that sometimes he watched my awakening in order to continue a discussion on some topic of science, poetry, or practical life, cut short by the chime of the small hours." He never, however, adds the Prince, "lost his mild and amiable temper." We feel a little curiosity to know whether his interlocutor showed at this period of his life the latter quality. From Berlin Motley returned to Boston to study law; but his real occupation for several years seems to have consisted in marrying a wife and writing a novel. Of this work, entitled *Morton's Hope*, Dr. Holmes frankly says that it "cannot endure a searching or even a moderately careful criticism." It is "a mass of dissected incidents, which has been flung out of its box, and has arranged itself without the least regard to chronology or geography." But *Morton's Hope*, though an unreadable reflection of Byronic passion, is, like *Vivian Grey*, worth, according to Dr. Holmes, studying as "an autobiography, a prophecy." "None," he insists, "of Motley's subsequent writings give such an insight into his character and mental history." In proof Dr. Holmes cites from this literary failure little besides what he himself describes as "extraordinary anachronisms" and blunders in dates. It, in fact, illustrates Motley's future historical career about as much or as little as the poetical genius of *Childe Harold* is illustrated by *Hours of Idleness*.

In 1841 Mr. Motley made a short trial of the profession of diplomacy. He accepted a Secretaryship of Legation at St. Petersburg. But his wife and his two young children, it was supposed, would be unable to endure the climate, and moreover the cost of living exceeded his resources. Finding that "he had nothing to do and little to enjoy," he returned to Massachusetts after a residence in Russia of a few months. The following three years Dr. Holmes leaps over. In 1844 Motley took an active part in supporting Henry Clay's Presidential canvass. He regarded Polk's election as demonstrating that "a statesman can never again be called to administer the affairs of the country." The victory of Polk, "Mr. Quelconque," as Motley indignantly called the new President, convinced him that "a man better qualified by an extraordinary combination of advantages to administer the Government than any man now living, or any man we can ever produce again, can be beaten by anybody." His enthusiasm for Mr. Clay had even incited him to stump Massachusetts, with such success that he believed he might, if he continued in active political life, command in time the post of "vote-distributor, or fence-viewer, or selectman, or hog-reeve, or something of the kind." He prosecuted the practice of politics to a sufficient extent, at all events, to be elected in 1849 to a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. His one achievement, by his own account, in the single year during which he sat was to draw up "a very elaborate and, as he supposed, unanswerable Report on education." What was his disgust when a member as yet absolutely unknown, George S. Boutwell, "rose and, as Motley always said, demolished the Report, so that he was unable to defend it against the attack." That, Motley told a friend, cured him of ambition for political promotion in Massachusetts. The fact was, Mr. Boutwell informed Dr. Holmes that a Daniel Webster himself could not have carried so unpopular a proposition as that contained in Motley's Report. The Report actually recommended an endowment of the colleges out of the

\* *John Lothrop Motley: a Memoir.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

fund for the support of the common schools. Probably not so much a provoked defeat as the increasing fascinations of literature rendered Motley indifferent to local politics. In October 1845 he had made his mark for the first time as an historian by "a rapid, continuous, brilliant, almost dramatic, narrative" of the career of Peter the Great, which he contributed to the *North American Review* under the guise of a notice of two recent works on Russia. Other articles in the same Review confirmed the impression of those who had kept their faith, amid a good many discouragements, in the genius which blossomed early but ripened late, that in history lay his destined career. A second novel, *Merrymount*, more coherent and readable than *Morton's Hope*, was the last sacrifice he paid to his old delusion that he was born to be a romancer. In spite of some brilliant descriptive scenes, it, too, appears to have been a failure. If we may judge from Dr. Holmes's account, it lacked at once the autobiographical interest and the amusing blunders of the earlier tale. But it was an historical novel, and so far betrayed the present character of the writer's bias. Henceforward, in any case, Motley's literary career was that of an historian, and an historian only.

This was scarcely Mr. Motley's own belief. He was already preparing for his first great historical work. But, he wrote in 1855 to a friend, it was not that he "cared about writing a history," but that he "felt an irresistible impulse to write one particular history." One formidable obstacle suddenly intervened. Prescott, he was informed, was meditating a history of Philip II. Motley's work, though not similar in plan, would cover a portion of the same ground. He would be at the disadvantage of appearing to compete with one whose fame, says Dr. Holmes, was "now co-extensive with the realm of scholarship." He divulged his intention to Prescott himself, and Prescott insisted that he should proceed with his undertaking. "No two books," he said, "ever injured each other." When his own book was published the preface contained a reference to the coming *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, which acted as a powerful advertisement. Eight or nine years, however, were to pass before the history was published. The years 1851-1856 were spent in researches in European State libraries. In November 1853 he was in Brussels, where he "does not know a living soul." He corrects himself:—"I am, perhaps, wrong; the dead men of the place are my intimate friends; I am at home in any cemetery. Any ghost of the sixteenth century that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother." He had brought his work to Brussels, thinking it finished; "but I find so much original matter here, and so many emendations to make, that I am ready to despair. However, there is nothing for it but to penelopeize, pull to pieces, and stitch away again. His own relaxation in Brussels was the study of Rubens." The Brussels Gallery contains a few fine specimens of the master. "I go sometimes of a raw foggy morning merely to warm myself in the blaze of their beauty." Dr. Holmes remarks on the natural sympathy between the great colourist on canvas and a great "colourist in language." At last, in 1856, when Motley was now past forty, the labour of ten years was completed; and "Mr. Murray civilly declined the manuscript." The publisher subsequently avowed his mistake, and asked to be allowed to undertake Motley's second history. But the author had to publish the *Rise of the Dutch Republic* at his own risk. No sooner, however, was it given to the world than it found "an approving, an admiring, an enthusiastic world of readers, and a nobler welcome at the colder hands of the critics." Fifteen thousand copies were sold in London in 1857. Mr. Froude eulogized it in the *Westminster Review*, Guizot himself in the *Edinburgh*. At home Everett, Washington Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Sumner, gloried in such a compatriot. On both sides of the Atlantic "the lonely student, who had almost forgotten the look of living men in the solitude of archives haunted by dead memories, found himself suddenly in the full blaze of a great reputation."

Mr. Motley did not repulse the courtesies offered him. By no means self-indulgent, he loved the habitual elegances of life. Dr. Holmes attributes to him "one of the three wittiest things that have been said in Boston in our time." What were the other two he tantalizingly omits to mention; but Motley's *bon mot* was, "Give me the luxuries, and I will dispense with the necessities, of life." He was a willing as he was a welcome guest at Cambridge and Holland and Lansdowne Houses in London. He was grateful for the friendly admiration of Boston friends, who found him "in every way greatly improved; the interesting impulsive youth ripened into a noble manhood." But he had accomplished only the opening instalment of his work. "Without stopping to take breath, as it were, for his was a task *de longue haleine*, he proceeded to his second great undertaking, the *History of the United Netherlands*." The first two volumes, which were published in 1860, "maintained and increased the reputation he had already gained." Then an enforced break intervened. The War of Secession absorbed his thoughts. "Love of country, which had grown upon him so remarkably of late years, would not suffer him to be silent at such a moment." He engaged vehemently in the controversies which the disruption had aroused. The part he took up, though he had anticipated no such result, probably suggested to President Lincoln his appointment to the Vienna Legation. Thus, after a lapse of twenty years, he resumed the diplomatic experience he had essayed in 1841. The very reserved and exclusive society of Vienna welcomed the distinguished historian; but all the personal weight he possessed he employed in the ad-

vocacy of the Federal cause. From the first he held that no compromise with slavery was possible, and lamented that his own side did not always appear to appreciate that what it was engaged in was not "a war," but a "revolution." He denounces "Jeff and Stonewall, and the other Devil-worshippers"; but he envies their superior "earnestness" to many Federals who would have been content to leave the negro question an open question as it was before hostilities began. Letters of ten and fifteen "closely written" pages conveyed these sentiments to long-suffering friends like Dr. Holmes and Mr. Lowell. His intimacies in London society were used for the same end. The United States Minister at Vienna had not much direct diplomatic business to transact. On one occasion the two countries were nearly coming into collision, and Motley intervened with effect. A large body of Austrian volunteers was about to embark at Trieste for Mexico, to aid Maximilian. Mr. Secretary Seward bade Motley threaten that, if these auxiliaries started, he should quit Vienna. The expedition was forthwith countermanded. Mr. Motley showed himself on this as on other less critical occasions a competent diplomatist. Yet diplomatic dignities and patriotic cares were alike, from the point of view of literature, vexatious interruptions to the true work of his life. Just when wars of secession and Mexican complications seemed about to yield him leisure for resuming his history, his official diplomatic functions were abruptly terminated. Some man of the real or assumed name of George W. McCrackin wrote to President Andrew Johnson, alleging that several envoys of the United States, and particularly Motley, had "railed violently and shamefully" against the President and his policy. Mr. Seward sent extracts from the letter to the objects of Mr. McCrackin's accusation, requesting them to deny or confirm the report that they had uttered the expressions put into their mouths by McCrackin. Motley indignantly denounced the charges against him as gross calumnies. But he proceeded to explain his views on the "reconstruction" of the Southern States, which were by no means the views of the President. He ended his letter with a resignation of his appointment. Dr. Holmes is very wrathful with Mr. Seward for expecting trusted representatives of the United States to answer slanders by a man who was probably a "spotter hired to report on the foreign Ministers," and who doubtless wrote under a borrowed name. Mr. Seward ought, as Dr. Holmes argues, to have refused to accept a resignation thus provoked. That Mr. Seward's friends declare, was his own original intention. The President, however, irritated doubtless by Motley's avowal of dissent from him, directed the Secretary to accept the resignation. It was a wretched termination of an honourable episode in Motley's career. The President emerges ill from it; but then no one could suppose that such a man as Andrew Johnson would emerge well from any complication. Mr. Seward betrayed a deplorable want of moral courage in lending himself to be Andrew Johnson's tool. But Motley himself also showed a foolish rashness and indiscretion. By his volunteered resignation he played the game of his detractors.

In 1868 the third and fourth volumes of the *History of the United Netherlands* were published, and he was already contemplating a history of the Thirty Years' War. But the next year a new distraction from historical investigation was caused by his appointment to the United States Legation in London. We have no space to follow Dr. Holmes in his rather controversial account of the causes which in 1870 resulted in a suggestion by Mr. Secretary Fish that Motley should resign that post, and in his recall when he rejected that suggestion. The assigned pretext for this severity to one of the most illustrious of American citizens was failure to obey Mr. Fish's instructions in his interview with Lord Clarendon on the *Alabama* claims. General Grant during his present tour has explained Mr. Motley's crime to have been that he had "deliberately fallen into line" with Mr. Sumner instead of with Mr. Fish. Dr. Holmes is of opinion that Motley's real offence was not so much any special act of disobedience, as General Grant's jealousy of the possible influence which Sumner, whose friend Motley was, might exercise through him. Mr. Motley was probably a scapegoat for his friend's sin in quarrelling with the President; but his refusal to resign was, we think, a mistake. At Vienna he resigned when there was no necessity for the step. In London he refused, and underwent the vexation of a formal recall. He seems to us to have reversed the proper course in each case.

After all, Dr. Holmes's readers will, we suspect, be scarcely grateful to him for the thirty-six pages he has spent, out of a poor couple of hundred or so, on a party squabble. They would rather have had Mr. Motley's conspicuous personality in the worlds of London, Vienna, and Boston recalled to them than his contributions to the State Paper Office of Washington. In spite of all his great intellectual gifts, or perhaps partly in consequence of them, Mr. Motley was thrown away in diplomacy. The very causes which made him an acceptable envoy at foreign Courts rendered him an inadequate Minister of the United States. It was not that European studies and associations had in the least denationalized him; but socially he represented the professorial society of the American Cambridge rather than New York and Illinois. We owe an additional grudge to diplomacy that the bitterness of the Vienna and London incidents reflected itself in his latest work, the *Life and Death of John of Barneveld*, in a certain autobiographical parallelism between United States politics and the feuds of military and civilian statesmanship in the



Dutch Republic. It may add to the charm, but it detracts from the dignity, of history to be able to detect, as does Dr. Holmes, General Grant in Maurice the Stadtholder, and Mr. Motley in the Dutch envoy Aerssens. We do not know if Dr. Holmes discovers Mr. Sumner concealed under Barneveld himself. Diplomacy has to answer not merely for having tinged Mr. Motley's studies and clouded his later years, but for having converted Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes from a biographer into an apologist. Motley was his class-fellow, his habitual correspondent in Europe, his neighbour in Boston during the episodes of his returns home, and finally his patient, when, still stung by a sense of injury at his second recall and crushed by the loss of his wife, he entered on the long process of dying which closed finally in England in 1877. His was a sensitive, nervous, and social nature which a quaint humourist and subtle analyst of human nature like the author of the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* could have depicted to the life. The rekindling of the dead ashes of a quarrel in which Motley was only a Patroclus for a Sumner and a Grant to fight over has absorbed skill and sympathy which might have preserved for us the man as he was, a worthy representative of an American type, fastidiously intellectual and individual in exact proportion to the surrounding dead level of aggregate mediocrity.

#### THE HAWKINSES' VOYAGES.\*

IN *The Voyages of the Hawkinses*, famous mariners of the times of Elizabeth, we have one of the most delightful and instructive books that the Hakluyt Society has published. In reading these simple records we are transported into a world of customs, ideas, and morality that has become very strange and almost incredible. Nothing gives one so strong a feeling of the vicissitudes of things, nothing makes the sense of the changes that three hundred years have wrought so vivid, as the story of these adventurous seamen. We can recognize a family likeness, indeed, between the Englishmen of to-day and their Elizabethan forefathers, but the likeness is greatly blurred. Their piety is that of men who practically lived the life of the children of Israel in the book of Judges. They owed obedience to the Queen's Majesty, but from the evidence of these uncourtly logs it is manifest that they really lived under a theocracy; under the government of God. The Hawkinses were as eager traders as any of our time, and one of them, Sir John, was the founder of the slave-trade. There is not, in the account of his voyage, a word of pity for the blacks who were kidnapped by force of arms, and yet it is easy to see that Hawkins was not cruel. The barbarities of the Spaniards and of the Inquisition excite in him and his contemporaries an unaffected indignation. He and his son spoil the Spaniard in the spirit of biblical Israelites, though they are ready to allow all deserved honour to their enemies. As to the negroes, John Hawkins seems to have held in earnest, what Montesquieu maintained in irony, that it is impossible to believe creatures to be men who have such ill-shaped noses. He did not draw with Montesquieu the inference that "if they are men, we are not Christians."

The story of the Hawkinses is too crowded with events to allow much space for moralizing. The patriarch of this family of seamen was Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, a sailor of the reign of Henry VIII., who had thrice gone on the dangerous but lucrative voyage to the Brazils. John, afterwards Sir John, his son, was probably born about 1532. In 1562 John, who had frequently visited the Canaries, learned "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea." He communicated his ideas to some enterprising friends, and "for his purpose 3 good shippes were immediately provided." Here it may be said that John's unconsciousness of wrongdoing is a better excuse for this beginning of a miserable business than Mr. Clements Markham finds, half in irony, for Charles V. "It was in 1517," says the editor, "that Charles V. issued royal licences for the importation of negroes into the West Indies, and in 1551 a licence for importing 17,000 negroes was offered for sale. The measure was adopted from philanthropic motives, and was intended to preserve the Indians." Hawkins, at worst, was no philanthropist. In his first voyage the God-fearing, respectable Hawkins "got into his possession, partly by the sword, and partly by other means, 300 negroes at the least," and he traded them away in St. Domingo for hides, ginger, sugar, and some quantity of pearls.

In 1564 Master John Hawkins went off again, with a vessel called the *Jesus*, and three others, to plunder, murder, and kidnap. His orders to his crews ran thus:—"Serve God daily; love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie." Near "Ginney" (Guinea) he missed the "fitting islands"—"and therefore it should seeme he is not yet borne to whom God hath appointed the finding of them." In the story of the second voyage are many notes of the manners and customs of the unlucky races which "proved good merchandise in Hispaniola." At Sambula, for example, the Samboses and their tattooing were observed; "they jag their flesh, both legs, arms, and bodies, as workmanlike as a jerkin-maker with us

pinketh a jerkin." In Florida the natives "do not omit to paint their bodies with curious knots or antique work." The towns of the Samboses are "prettily divided," and the houses "made round like a dove-cote," probably like the houses of the Kanekas. Over the roof "there is a round bundle of reed prettily contrived like a louver." Mr. Markham, in a footnote, asks if *louver* means *bower*, but surely *louvre* is a more probable explanation. Snakes ran in and out of the houses unmolested, as among the Zulus, and probably for the same reason—that they were believed to be ancestral spirits. In war the Samboses used reed arrows, and they were so far advanced in civilization that the arrows were iron-tipped and poisoned, like those of Pandarus and Odysseus. In Hawkins's third voyage (1567) he and his men in one of their negro-stealing raids tasted of these missiles. "Although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurtles, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sorte, with their mouths shutte, some ten days before he died, and after their woundes were whole." It is difficult to say whether this lockjaw was the result of the poison or of nervous apprehension. The latter theory is favoured by the experience of Hawkins himself, a man of indomitable courage:—"I myself had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped." As to the religion of the Samboses, "I can heare of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in dreames"—a very probable account of one of the elements in the religion of savages. Another tribe, the Canniballs, he found "exceeding fierce, and to be avoided." Cannibals might prove "good merchandise," but it was not easy to procure and transport them to Hispaniola. In Florida Hawkins seems to have first become acquainted with an Indian weed, "tabacco, and the great virtue thereof." "The Floridians, when they travel, have a kind of herbe dried, which with a cane, and an earthen cup at the end, with fire, and the dried herbes put together, do suck thoro the cane the smoke thereof." He returned on the 20th of September, "bringing home both gold, silver, pearles, and other jewels great store. His name therefore be praised for evermore."

One John Sparke wrote the log of the second voyage, but John Hawkins himself compiled that of the third luckless adventure. We have already noted the loss of his company from the poisoned arrows of the blacks whom he tried to kidnap. With the help of a negro king he took a town containing 8,000 people, but "no truth in Negroes"; his black accomplice in this robbery refused to share equally with the pious English thief. This was but the beginning of "many miseries," for the Spaniards attacked him at San Juan de Ulloa, and after many misadventures, he had to land a hundred men on the Mexican coast, and make for home with the remnant of the crew. The castaways fell into the hands of the Inquisition, who treated them as they had treated the negroes, or even worse. "Several were tortured," says Mr. Markham, "and most inhumanly mutilated. Some were burnt, and a few were sent to Spain, and left to die of hunger in the Archbishop of Seville's dungeons." Those were times in which men, as a rule, were pitiless, except to persons of their own tribe and faith. The dealings of the Spanish and English with each other, with negroes, and with Indians, almost tempt one to think that there is something in cosmopolitanism.

John Hawkins, on his return home, tried vainly to betray the Spaniards into a trap. He offered to hand over the Queen's ships under his command, but the "treacherous Spaniard" was not to be beguiled. Once in England, the slave-dealer showed the other side of his character. To his own people, among Englishmen and Protestants, he was as honest, thorough, and active an official, as daring yet discreet an officer, as he had already proved himself an unscrupulous adventurer. He became Treasurer of the Navy, and put down jobs and peculations with a high hand. He invented chain-pumps for ships. When the Armada threatened the country he was vice-admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, a ship of illustrious name, and destined to have a glorious future. When he missed the Plate fleet in 1590, he told Elizabeth that "Paul planteth, and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase." "God's death!" exclaimed the Queen, "this fool went out a soldier and is come home a divine." Her Majesty was no Puritan. Hawkins died at sea, November 21, 1595. His last voyage was made in the hope of rescuing his gallant son Richard, whom the Spaniards had taken prisoner with his ship the *Dainty*.

Richard Hawkins was a man of milder mood than his father; he was resolute, courageous, the enemy of Spain, but tolerant, thoughtful, and courteous. His earliest memory was of the correction inflicted by John Hawkins on the Spaniards who were carrying Ann of Austria to be fourth wife of Philip of Spain. They entered Plymouth "without vaying their top-sails, or taking in of their flags," whereon John Hawkins fired a gun and "lacked the admiral through and through." The affair was ended amicably by an apology from the Spaniards. In 1588, after the ruin of the Armada, Richard Hawkins caused a ship of three or four hundred tons to be built on the Thames. His intention was to make a voyage of discovery "for the islands of Japan, of the Phillippinas, and Molucas, the Kingdom of China, and East Indies, by way of the straites of Magellan and the South Seas." The Spaniards, oddly enough, refused to believe in Richard's scientific purpose, and called him a "pirate." His ship was named by his stepmother, who called her the *Repentance*, but the Queen renamed her the *Dainty*. She never had any luck. Therefore, writes Hawkins, "I advise all persons ever (as neere as

\* *The Hawkinses' Voyages, during the Reigns of Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, and James I.* Edited, with an Introduction, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S. Hakluyt Society. London: 1878.

they can) by all means, and on all occasions, to presage unto themselves the good they can, and in giving names to terrestrial works (especially to ships) not to give such as merely represent the celestial character, for few have I known, or seem come to a good end, which have had such attributes." As an example, Hawkins cites the immortal *Revenge*, "which gave England and Spain just cause to remember her," and which Mr. Tennyson has taken care shall not be forgotten. There are defeats more glorious than victories, and we shall remember Isandula longer than Ali Masjid.

The *Dainty's* own end was to perish in a splendid disaster. This ill-omened ship, which bore for figurehead Hawkins's crest—"a demi-Moor proper, bound and captive"—left England on the 13th of June, 1593, accompanied by the pinnace *Fancy* and the *Hawk*. Tharleton, the captain of the pinnace, basely deserted Hawkins off the Plate river; to which treachery, and to the incapacity or treachery of his gunner, he attributed his defeat. On the 16th June, 1594, Hawkins was in the bay of San Mateo, on the coast of the province of Quito. Here he met the Spanish fleet, with double his ordnance and ten times his men. His crews insisted on fighting. The English sailor of that age was less amenable to discipline, Hawkins says, than were the Spaniards:—

Yea, I cannot attribute the good successes the Spaniard hath had in his voyages and peoplings, to any extraordinary virtue more in him than in any other man, were not discipline, patience, and justice far superior. For in valour, experience, and travel, he surpasseth us not; in shipping, preparation, and plenty of vittuals, he commeth not neere us; in paying and rewarding our people, no nation did go beyond us: but God, who is a just and bountifull rewarder, regarding obedience farre above sacrifice, doubtlesse, in recompence of their indurance, resolution, and subjection to commandment, bestoweth upon them the blessing due unto it. And this, not for that the Spaniard is of a more tractable disposition, or more docible nature than wee, but that justice halseth with us, and so the old proverbe is verified, *Pittie marreth the whole cittie*.

His men would not wear defensive armour like the Spaniards. "Though I had great preparations of armours, as well as of prooffe, as of light corseletts, yet not a man would use them; but esteemed a pott of wine a better defence than an armour of prooffe." Alas, "the pott was continually walking" during the fight, and Hawkins's men exposed themselves with a recklessness of which the Spanish sharpshooters took advantage. We wish we could quote the whole story of the sea-fight. The *Dainty* drove off her foes again and again, "sustaining the fight, all this night, with the day and night following, and the day after." In an attempt to board, Hawkins tells us, "myself received six wounds; one of them in the neck, very perilous, another through the arm, perishing the bone, and cutting the sinewes close to the arme-pitte; the rest not so dangerous." What Hawkins does not say—we gather it from the Spanish account—is that "the gallant Hawkins himself seized the royal standard, by means of a bowline which he threw over it." It was in this chivalrous attempt that Hawkins was so sorely wounded that he could only encourage his men to refuse to surrender. Thus he fought his ship from the place where he lay, "nearly giving up the ghost," but still rousing himself to harangue the crew:—

"Came we into the South sea to put out flags of truce? And left we our pleasant England, with all her contentments, with intention or purpose to avayle our selves of white ragges, and by banners of peace to deliver ourselves for slaves into our enemies hands; or to range the world with the English, to take the law from them, whom by our swords, prowess, and valour, we have alwaies heretofore bin accustomed to purchase honour, riches, and reputation? If these motives be not sufficient to perswade you, then I present before your eyes your wives and children, your parents and friends, your noble and sweete cuntry, your gracious sovereigne; all of which account yourselves for ever deprived, if this proposition should be put in execution."

When once surrender is spoken of, men rarely fail, says Hawkins, to give in. If Hawkins yielded, it was to a noble foe, Don Beltran de Castro:—

For prevention, hee sent a principall captaine, brought up long time in Flanders, called Pedro Alveres de Pulgar, to take care of me, and whilst the shippes were one about the other, to bring me into his ship; which he accomplished with great humanitie and courtesie; despising the barres of gold which were shared before his face, which hee might alone have enjoyed if he would. And truly hee was, as after I found by tryall, a true captaine, a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition that I have knowne any Spaniard.

The generall received me with great courtesie and compassion, even with teares in his eyes, and words of great consolation, and commanded mee to bee accommodated in his owne cabbine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best he could: the like hee used with all our hurt men, six and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse, as true courage, valour, and resolution, is requisit in a generall in the time of battle, so humanitie, mildnes, and courtesie, after victorie.

The story of the later adventures of Richard in the Spanish prisons (for the Inquisition or the Government kept him captive for eight years) was unfortunately not written when the gallant sailor died. His last years found a peaceful home at Slapton, in Devonshire. His account of his cruise is full of digressions on technical points of seamanship and war, which are very curious and interesting. We have no space for the tale of the voyage of William Hawkins, Richard's cousin, who visited the Great Mogul at Agra. No one should overlook, however, the curious story of the Mogul's china plate (pp. 429, 430).

Mr. Clements Markham has edited the volume with his usual care, and has provided it with most useful introductions, notes, and an index. We wish he had kept the scurvy controversy out of his foot-note to p. 142, especially as, in p. 163, Richard Hawkins

seems by no means so very much of Mr. Markham's opinion. It would be interesting to know the exact date of the ivory bust of Sir John Hawkins, of which a photograph adorns this delightful volume.

#### TURNER'S LIBER STUDIUM.\*

MR. RAWLINSON'S descriptive catalogue of the *Liber Studiorum* will be warmly welcomed by the circle of collectors and amateurs to which it properly appeals. If the success of a work could be measured by the amount of devotion and labour required for its performance, Mr. Rawlinson might also count upon the reward of popular appreciation. Such a reward, however, is in the present instance not to be expected, and our author, who is so obviously inspired by the feelings of the particular class to which he addresses himself, will scarcely suffer any disappointment if his readers, like the works that he describes, should be rare and select. For it is not in the nature of a collector to be troubled by the consciousness that his enthusiasms are not widely shared. He loves to possess what others cannot obtain, and in like manner he feels a certain pride in the knowledge that he lovingly admires what others are apt to neglect. We do not wish to be so ungracious as to hint that his tastes are directed solely by this sentiment, but it is undoubtedly true that, even with the most enlightened collectors, the pure enjoyment of artistic beauty is sometimes complicated by a sense of triumph in the possession of that which is denied to others. Mr. Rawlinson himself refers to this very human frailty in the introduction to the volume before us. With perfect candour he confesses that he can discover no good reason for the very high prices constantly paid for what are known as the engravers' proofs of the *Liber Studiorum*. These proofs are, in fact, trials of the plates drawn before the engraving was complete, and intended as a guide to the engraver, to show what was yet wanting to perfect the work. "Often," as Mr. Rawlinson observes, "they are so manifestly incomplete that, although interesting as marking the progress of the work, they wholly lack the beauty of the finished picture, and are therefore, I hold, inherently of less, instead of more, value than the impressions which Turner thought the fittest to give to the world." But the collector, as we have already hinted, is not always guided by intrinsic value, and the fact that these engravers' proofs are of greater rarity makes them in his eyes more precious.

The sentence we have just quoted shows, however, that Mr. Rawlinson is not a slave to these caprices of his class. He is able, upon this as upon other questions connected with the *Liber Studiorum*, to take an independent view of Turner's art, and even to those who do not possess any of the plates that are here so carefully described, the introductory chapter, which deals generally with the artistic value of the work, will be found full of interest and instruction. In common with nearly all lovers of Turner, Mr. Rawlinson is very ready to acknowledge his indebtedness to the writings of Mr. Ruskin; but at the same time he does not hesitate to call in question the general accuracy of Mr. Ruskin's criticism upon the *Liber Studiorum*. In a recently published biography of the artist Mr. Hamerton has very clearly shown that Turner's most eloquent advocate has been betrayed into extraordinary exaggeration of the neglect which the painter suffered in his lifetime. Mr. Rawlinson here detects and exposes a similar instance of what Mr. Ruskin himself would call "the pathetic fallacy." In the fifth volume of *Modern Painters* the reader is encouraged to look to these engraved plates for the evidence of the prevailing sadness of Turner's mind. "Take up the *Liber Studiorum*," says Mr. Ruskin, "and observe how this feeling of decay and humiliation gives solemnity to all its simplest subjects," and further, he adds, "There is no exultation in thriving city or mart, or in happy rural toil, or in harvest gathering. Only the grinding at the mill and patient striving with hard conditions of life." To any one who is familiar with the *Liber Studiorum* this forced and sentimental characterization of its purpose will scarcely need refutation. That Turner was affected by the modern romantic feeling for outward nature which loves to seek the beauty that lies in the wilder and more desolate aspects of scenery is no doubt true; but the presence of this sadder sentiment in his work is rather to be ascribed to an unconscious sympathy with the movement of his time than to the special bent of his own individuality. Indeed, as compared with his contemporaries, Turner imports a more constant suggestion of almost Southern luxuriance into his painting which is not always in accord with the homely character of English scenery. He does not record the shifting changes of English weather with the sympathy or power that Constable displays, nor does the general effect of his colouring suggest the presence of so grave a spirit as is revealed in the simple and severe beauty of Girtin's work in water colour. But, even if the prevailing sadness of Turner's mind could be proved to have been expressed in his art at all, the *Liber Studiorum* would still remain a most unfortunate example for the purpose. As Mr. Rawlinson very justly points out, the distinguishing characteristic of the work lies in the extraordinary variety of the subjects represented and the many changes of mood displayed in their treatment. There is little doubt that Turner here intended to show the whole scope of his art and to put in exercise all his

\* *Turner's Liber Studiorum. A Description and a Catalogue* by W. G. Rawlinson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.



powers of design. He seems to have been partly urged to undertake the publication of these plates by a desire to invite a comparison between himself and Claude. Boydell had published with success a series of engravings after Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, and this seems to have suggested to Turner the title as well as the scheme of his own work. Competition, however, is an unhappy element to introduce into the practice of art; and in this particular instance it was specially inappropriate, for Claude had never intended his drawings to be given to the world at all, nor had they been executed under any idea of displaying the extent of his artistic resources. It would therefore be altogether misleading to institute any comparison between the two schemes; and the only significant point in connexion with this so-called rivalry lies in the fact that the spirit in which the *Liber Studiorum* was undertaken justifies us in accepting the result as a representative expression of Turner's genius.

Mr. Rawlinson reminds us of other considerations which give to these plates a peculiar importance and value. They were executed in the fulness of the artist's powers and before his imagination had fallen into the license of a later time. They were contemporary with pictures like the "Crossing the Brook" and the "Frosty Morning," in the National Gallery, pictures which appeal strongly even to those who cannot profess any sympathy with the vague sublimity of style that was adopted at a subsequent period of his career. It is true that they afford no opportunity of judging of Turner's gifts as a colourist; but it may be questioned, we think, whether this is altogether to the artist's disadvantage. Turner's genius has been so lavishly extolled, and the extravagant eulogy of which he has been the subject is so likely to produce an undue reaction of feeling, that the present is perhaps scarcely a favourable moment for attempting anything like an impartial estimate of the position he is destined to hold in the history of painting. We may be permitted, however, to hazard the opinion that his powers of design and his knowledge of the truths of light and shade afford a surer foundation of lasting fame than can be found in his more vaunted gifts as a colourist. The peculiar and strongly marked conventions of his system of colour must, we believe, ultimately prove a serious obstacle to the appreciation of his painting; and the time must surely come when much of what now passes for extraordinary imaginative resource will be curtly dismissed as artifice and extravagance. But, even if Turner's painting should fail to keep its present place in general esteem, such a work as the *Liber Studiorum* would alone be sufficient to vindicate his genius. Here his exquisite sense of the refinements of aerial truth and his incomparable power of displaying the contrasted beauties of sunshine and shadow are not perplexed in their exercise by the need of solving complicated problems of colour. We are allowed to appreciate the wide range of his sympathies and to note the unflinching facility of his invention at a time when that invention had not yet lost its hold upon the simplicity of nature. And, to our thinking, landscape is of all branches of art that which most imperatively demands this close contact with reality. Even the richest imagination is here sufficiently employed in simplifying what it sees and in selecting those finer truths which give to a scene its essential character. To attempt more than this, and to strive to impose upon nature invented fairy visions—such as Turner produced in his later time—is, in fact, to admit the control of a lower kind of fancy. We cannot, therefore, quite agree with Mr. Rawlinson in his admission that Turner's most imaginative work was done after the production of the *Liber Studiorum*. In our judgment these plates mark the highest point in the development of Turner's genius. In these he has given to the world the best that he had to offer, expressed in a material that was the best fitted to display the strength and, at the same time, to suppress the inherent weaknesses of his style.

We have not attempted to discuss in detail the exhaustive catalogue which forms the body of Mr. Rawlinson's work, nor indeed have we by any means exhausted the many interesting points in connexion with Turner's art that are handled in the introduction. The merits of that particular combination of etching and mezzotint which Turner employed are perhaps more open to question than Mr. Rawlinson would seem to allow. It is true that by this means the artist was enabled to approach the effect of the washed drawings of Claude, but the deeply-bitten line of Turner's etching does not so readily fuse with the work in mezzotint as the line of the reed pen with the wash of the brush. The result, from an artistic point of view, would possibly have been more entirely satisfactory if these plates had been executed either entirely in etching or entirely in mezzotint; and, in our judgment, it is not altogether an advantage that they should appear to suggest the process of a drawing. Of the catalogue itself it is only necessary to say that Mr. Rawlinson has spared no pains to make it as complete as possible. He has examined all the collections of the plates that are known to exist, and he has thus been enabled to classify the different "states" of each plate with confidence and accuracy. Further, he adds, in every case where it is known to exist, a description of the original drawing made in preparation for the plate.

## IN THIS WORLD.\*

IT will soon take two writers to review one story, for one man can no longer pretend to follow lady novelists in the variety of learning which they display. The difficulties of the case are not a little increased by the fact that they so commonly write in what is, if not a learned, at all events an unknown tongue. We are not sure, therefore, whether two reviewers are sufficient. A third would often be required, who should first master the peculiar form of English in which female writers so commonly delight, and who should then translate it—as much of it, that is to say, as is found to have any meaning—into the English which any ordinary person can understand. We ought not to take it ill that we so often find in these stories such displays of learning. By the time that women have been as much worried with examinations as men are, they will be less anxious, as soon as they have learnt anything, to put it into print. In the book before us there is a great show made of medical learning. The heroine, a most charming young lady we admit, had taken her degree of Doctor of Medicine at Paris. She does not, happily, confine herself strictly to the practice of medicine, but, like all other sensible heroines, soon falls in love. The author, however, never lets us forget that if she is in love she is still a doctor in love. Her hair was soft, fair, and curly. Her eyes at times "became positively cavernous," whatever that may mean, "in the revelation of depths beyond depths, and the flashes of sudden fire which illumined those depths." But her talk was uncommonly scientific. She was learned in typhoid fever and diseases of the eye. Her husband—for she marries a fashionable physician—was one day prescribing for a distinguished artist. The medical heroine was in an adjoining room, and through the partly opened door heard the symptoms described. She at once saw that her husband, who was, we must in pity remember, of the old school of physicians, and merely a man, did not understand the case. When the artist had left, she maintained that the patient was suffering from glaucoma. Her husband was equally confident that the haze over the patient's eyes was due to biliousness:—

"No," said Ernestine; "I saw that the pupil is dilated to a degree that shows only a mere ring of iris; and the iris is discoloured."

Dr. Doldy laughed aloud. "That is all very well," said he; "but the man has constant nausea."

"So I heard him say," said Ernestine composedly. "You forget that I heard him detail his sufferings; and, perhaps, you don't remember either that recurrent vomiting is now ascertained to be one of the symptoms in an acute case of glaucoma."

The Doctor—the male doctor, we mean, for we forget that there were two of them—would not be convinced. His wife insisted that "iridectomy must be performed at once." She gracefully admitted that she was not afflicted with the passion for operations. "Iridectomy does not," she said, "fascinate me because it is asserted that the larger the piece of the iris cut out, the more complete its cure." Good heavens! we found ourselves exclaiming. How can we pretend to understand, much more to criticize, such a heroine as this? What has our course of novel-reading, beginning with Pamela and Clarissa, and coming down through Amelia and Evelina and Helen and Emma to the charming young ladies who still survived not so many years ago—what has it done in the way of preparing us to comprehend a heroine who is not fascinated by the size of the cut that is made into an unfortunate man's iris?—

Bring forth men-children only,  
For thy undaunted mettle should compose  
Nothing but males—

is the only appropriate reply that her husband could have made. Unhappily, though he was a good Shakspearian scholar, yet he took his wife's interference very ill. He may have held with the wise men of Ahasuerus's court, who maintained that, if a wife is allowed openly to despise her husband, there will arise in the world to much contempt and wrath. At all events he quarrelled with her, and they separated. He was obliged, indeed, in the present case to own at last that she was right and he was wrong. That was proved by "the ophthalmoscope—that simple, subtle little instrument which Charles Babbage evolved out of his wonderful mind." "To evolve out of the mind" is, as we note in passing, what we may perhaps call the female English of "to invent." The ophthalmoscope showed that the artist's was a case of sub-acute glaucoma, and that iridectomy must be at once performed. Now, as critics, we always like to bear our part in the judgment that is pronounced in a novel. We are not willing to accept the author's mere word. Nor do we like in the present case, without understanding anything of it, to be called upon to allow, quite contrary to what *à priori* is probable, that the husband is in the wrong and the wife in the right. If it was not a case of sub-acute glaucoma, if iridectomy was not needed, then Mrs. Dr. Doldy ought to have been ashamed of herself, and to have asked pardon of Mr. Dr. Doldy. That we can understand. But what do we know of glaucoma in any form of acuteness, or of iridectomy, however large or however small a piece may be cut out? We might just as reasonably be expected to follow the disputes of a chandler and his wife as to the best method of melting tallow.

When the author leaves medicine and goes into law, then the little knowledge that we have managed to pick up on the subject shows us that she is hopelessly wrong. We are ready to own that

\* *In This World*. A Novel. By Mabel Collins, Author of "An Innocent Sinner." 2 vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1879.

our own views as to the way in which a criminal trial is conducted are not so clear as they should be. We must plead as our excuse the vast, the overwhelming amount of bad law that has been presented to us in a long course of novels. Nothing, next to love-making, is so frequent in our stories as a criminal trial, and nothing is so varied as the mode of procedure. Crown's quest law is nothing to novelists' criminal law. Should Sir James Stephen's great Act be carried through Parliament, we earnestly hope that it will at once be made a subject in all the examinations for girls and women. And yet perhaps the result would only be that our writers would blunder more elaborately, and would flounder more hopelessly. This consideration, however, is foreign to our present purpose, and we must not be led away by it. In the story before us there is of course an abandoned villain. In abandoned villains ladies greatly delight. He is a most hateful and forbidding wretch. He is a dark-skinned, miserable, unhealthy-looking man. He has two rows of projecting white teeth in a hideous grin, and his teeth flash ominously when he laughs. Can any dentist—male or female, we care not which—explain to us what is meant by teeth flashing ominously? He had been engaged to a remarkably disagreeable young lady, whose skin was like cream-coloured satin. Cream-coloured women, we are told, seldom eat much, nor was this young lady an exception to the rule. Not that her eating has anything to do with the story, but this is in part a scientific novel, and so scientific facts are recorded. She had written to him during the engagement some foolish letters, and he took advantage of them when they had quarrelled to extort money from her by a threat of publication. She consulted a solicitor, who had his reasons for wishing to punish the villain. After she had stated her case the lawyer "looked up in a cool business-like way into her face, and said, 'Will five years' penal servitude do?' 'Oh, glorious!' she ejaculated. 'Oh, glorious,' she repeated musingly to herself." The villain was arrested and brought before the magistrate. The cream-coloured woman attended to give evidence, and "drew auguries of triumph from the rich-hearted rose in the button-hole" of her solicitor. As soon as this gentleman had given an outline of the case, before the prisoner had a chance of saying a word, "the magistrate with dignity and contempt" exclaimed, "And his accomplice in this disgraceful case, who and what is he?" The magistrate later on asked about the letters that had been sent. "Have they been inspected?" The solicitor "turned a perfectly blank and expressionless countenance upon him and said, 'I have looked at them and they are such as any engaged lady might write.' 'That makes it a very serious case,' said the magistrate." Neither he nor anybody else troubled himself anything more about the letters. It is true that it had been agreed on with the villain that "if he would bring a defence which would be likely to lighten his sentence, it should be accepted by the prosecution on condition that he kept his tongue from slander with regard to Laura," the cream-coloured woman.

The prisoner and his accomplice were committed for trial. When the great day came on, and the prisoner's counsel was pursuing a certain line of defence with some ardour, at the very moment when "he was plainly producing some effect upon the jury, he was suddenly arrested by an indescribable look from Lingens," the solicitor of the rich-hearted auguries-of-triumph-giving rose, "which puzzled him so much that he sat down precipitately." No wonder that the author found it impossible to describe a look which, coming from the solicitor of the prosecutor, in a moment made the prisoner's counsel give up his defence just when it was beginning to tell with the jury. The result was that the villain was sentenced to penal servitude for life. Happily for him, "a beautiful, elegant, and accomplished woman" was in love with him. She used every influence she possessed, and backed up every effort his connections made, to effect his release. In a few weeks he is set free. How this is accomplished we do not quite understand; but, from what our author tells us, the Home Office must be in a most corrupt state. "Where there are ladies concerned a social blemish," we are told, "creeps a long way," and in this case there were not a few social blemishes.

The villain then escapes, the cream-coloured woman marries a baronet, and the two doctors—male and female—become reconciled. But in spite of reconciliation Mrs. Dr. Doldy keeps up her scientific talk to the last. In the closing chapter she says, "It is a mistake to think too much from a hygienic point of view." It is admirable to see how easily our women doctors catch those hard words which once were thought to belong, as of sole right, to the male. We are reminded by the lady's learned talk of a story we have heard of a poor woman, who, quite seventy years ago, came back full of admiration of the learning of a physician. "He only asked me one question," she said, "and then he told me all that was the matter with me." "And what did he ask you?" "How I felt, and I said hot and cold all over." "Ah!" said he, "you are suffering from the unequal distribution of the vital heat." But the mystery of healing has been broken in upon by the fair sex. What would "an unequal distribution of the vital heat" avail against a rival female practitioner who could talk of sub-acute glaucoma, iridectomy, and a hygienic point of view?

#### THE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE SEA.\*

THE various spoils of that incalculable amount of animal life which teems in the ocean and its sequestered inlets, under different conditions of atmospheric climate and of aqueous temperature, supply mankind with vast quantities of useful raw materials, at the mere cost of searching for them. This bountiful provision of nature presents an interesting study, which is here sketched out by Mr. P. L. Simmonds, the compiler of two preceding treatises respectively setting forth the industrial uses of vegetable products and those of animals reared upon dry land. His work is descriptive and statistical, but not specially scientific; the facts stated belong to that common stock of ordinary information which has, since the time of Pinckney's and Blair's Catechisms, been frequently commended to the attention of young persons. The more recent era of Great Exhibitions, with their diversity of manufactured substances from every region of the earth, has demanded a share of this kind of knowledge for the intelligent enjoyment of the popular spectacle. It was a phase of the general mind which may now, after a quarter of a century, seem likely to be passing away, as there are few signs of any immediate further development of our artificial sources of wealth. But the sea and the land, and all that is therein, constitute a wonderful perpetual exhibition of myriad forms of organic life, beneficently serving the needs of the human race. It must ever be delightful and profitable to review this marvellous arrangement; to regard its continuance, through all the shifting scenes of national or social prosperity, as an abiding pledge for the larger, we trust for the happier, future of our terrestrial world.

Mr. Simmonds has attempted a threefold division of his subject, to which one exception may be taken, according to the true definition of "Art." He seems to mean, by his third category of uses for marine products, something analogous to what is called Fine Art; and, if that be his intention, we fear he does not rightly understand the term. The mere decorative employment of beautiful substances—tortoise-shell, pearls, mother-of-pearl, coral, and amber—cannot properly be so ranked, any more than the work of the mere lapidary in polishing and setting his precious stones. Art, in the high and worthy sense, is not the presentation of exquisite materials; it is the poetic creation of noble original forms. We should prefer, therefore, to let all this jewelry, which is furnished by such articles of ornamental value found in the sea, take its place with the sponges, the whalebone, the oils, the isinglass, kelp, sepia, and other matters serviceable to manufacturing industry. The remaining twofold division will be, on the one hand, all those products of the sea which are good for human consumption as food; on the other hand, those of which something desirable is made by human skill and contrivance.

Fisheries, in general, are practised with a view to obtaining the first class of marine commodities. The cod, herring, pilchard, and mackerel of the British narrow seas, and of the neighbouring Atlantic and German Oceans, with the turbot and the sole of our coasts, the sardine and tunny of the Mediterranean, the familiar crustaceans, bivalves, and other edible molluscs, will here occur to every reader in grateful remembrance. The salmon fishery of these islands is worth half a million sterling annually, the sales in London alone being to the value of a quarter of a million; but salmon are caught in rivers, though living partly in the sea. Many competent writers have enjoined upon us greater attention to the unequalled natural advantages of England in regard to sea fisheries. It is justly remarked that our labouring classes have not been taught sufficiently to appreciate fish as a nutritious article of diet. Except in the shape of a "red herring" for breakfast, they do not care to use it, though much cheaper than butcher's meat. Charitable visitors of the homes of the London poor find it difficult to overcome this singular prejudice. For sanitary and physiological as well as economical reasons, it is to be seriously regretted at the present day, when so large a portion of our townsfolk are engaged in sedentary indoor work. The waste of nerve-substance going on so rapidly in modern city life could probably be remedied in some degree by a more liberal use of fish for its phosphates. A poor man's wife, though she might buy a fine fresh herring for a penny, has no idea of giving her husband such a dinner; she haggles for an indescribable remnant called beefsteak, or more indigestible veal. Yet the curious rambler in Drury Lane may find a humble cookshop that offers a plentiful dish of fried plaice for the sum of fourpence; while stewed eels, the favourite repast of our Saxon forefathers, may be had round any corner. Plaice, as well as haddock and whiting, though contemptuously denominated "offal" by the fashionable fishmonger, makes a tolerably good occasional meal; herring is first-rate nourishment when the fish is in season, about Midsummer, and again in the autumn. It is estimated, says Mr. Simmonds, that the quantity of herrings yearly taken in the Yarmouth and Lowestoft fisheries would give fourteen meals, of one herring for each, to every man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom. The Scotch fisheries, of which the chief is at Wick, and those of St. George's Channel and the Irish Sea, are not less important. But a very large proportion of the herrings taken are salted or smoked and devoted to exportation. Holland and England, successively enjoying maritime supremacy and assuming the championship of the Protestant cause in Europe, partly owed

\* *The Commercial Products of the Sea; or, Marine Contributions to Food, Industry, and Art.* By P. L. Simmonds. London: Griffith & Farran.



their naval strength to their supplying the Roman Catholic nations with preserved fish for fast-days. This was also the destination of the Cornish pilchard fishery, which thrived by the religious custom of Spain and Portugal, and which trained the crews of Elizabethan ships to defeat the Spanish Armada. There is no better school for the manhood of a nation; and some gentlemen who like sea sports, when tired of aimless yachting, might perhaps try now and then the command of a trawling smack. The work is carried on upon so vast a scale that in the North Sea, on a fine night of September or October, there will be five or six thousand miles of netting stretched between the boats to catch the mighty shoals of herring. It is roughly estimated that a hundred thousand of our countrymen, with about three thousand vessels, not reckoning small boats, are employed in this kind of fishery. Dutchmen and Frenchmen also take a moderate share in its pursuit. The decline of all the Irish coast fisheries is still to be deplored; the number of vessels and boats had diminished, between 1870 and 1876, from nine thousand to under six thousand, and the number of men and boys employed from thirty-eight thousand to twenty-three thousand seven hundred. British America, or the Canadian Dominion, exports fish to the value of above three millions sterling yearly, more than half of which is supplied by Newfoundland. An equal quantity of cod is taken by the United States' fishermen on the banks and shores of Newfoundland and on the coast of Labrador. The French, too, are not far behindhand in those waters, but on the shores of Iceland they practise the cod-fishery more largely than all other nations. As an article of diet, the dried and salted cod finds ready sale in every country of Southern Europe and in the West Indies. The Norwegian fisheries, both of cod and herring, constitute the main industry of Norway, valued at 1,000,000*l.* year by year.

These are the greatest examples of the commercial importance of sea-fishing, to which are here added some particulars, not very complete, of the mackerel fishery, the lobster and crab fishery, and other departments of marine pursuit. Such a statement as that "one hundred millions, or about twelve thousand tons' weight, of soles are said to be sold annually in Billingsgate," may not improbably be well founded, but has not the air of statistical precision. The chapter on oysters tells us what we unhappily know too well of their increasing price in England, which pays, if Mr. Simmonds is correctly informed, between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* a year for this article. Three-and-sixpence a dozen for the genuine sort of Whitstable or Colchester is a prohibitory rate to middle-class people in these times. We are not here told of the recently introduced "Anglo-Portuguese," now offered in London at tenpence. The systematic French oyster culture at Granville, Cancale, Arcahon, Auray, and L'Orient is briefly described. A scanty notice of the American oyster trade is also given; but we could have wished for a better account of the oyster world, and of the oyster himself, the "native," our old familiar friend. The pearl oyster of Ceylon and the mother-of-pearl oyster of the Malay archipelago—for which we care little—are treated by Mr. Simmonds with great respect in a subsequent chapter.

Passing from things eatable to materials or ingredients of manufacture, the author finds much to record that is worthy our notice. His account of sponges is more satisfactory than some other parts of the book, which appear to have been hastily raked together from whatever documents lay nearest at hand. This remark, however, applies only to the earlier division, relating to ordinary fisheries. He has bestowed more thorough study upon the marine products which enter into our industrial economy. The sponge, indeed, is rather an article of domestic convenience. We learn that the coarse, soft, flat sponges, with large pores and great orifices in them, come from the Bahamas and Florida. A small schooner, towing several little boats, with two men in each, passes slowly over the sponge-ground. One man sculls, the other squats hanging over the boat's side, with his head in a bucket, the bottom of which is of glass. Through this he looks down into the deep still water, and sees the sponges lying twenty or thirty feet below. Then, assisted by the other man, he aims a stroke with a three-pronged hooking-fork at the end of a long pole. The sponge is grappled and lifted into the boat. When the boats have loaded the vessel, the sponges lying on board, covered with a gelatinous mass from which oozes a slime of disgusting odour, are anything but pleasant. The animal soon dies; the sponges are laid out in the sand that this putrefying outer substance may rot off, after which they are roughly cleaned and scraped, pressed and packed in bales. Much further washing is required, and a chemical process of bleaching. American sponges being so inferior to those of the Mediterranean, it has been sought to utilize them for the stuffing of cushions and mattresses, or the felting of hats and winter coats, but with poor success. The finer kind, suitable for toilet use, is found in the Levant; the best on the coast of Northern Syria, near Tripoli, and secondary qualities among the Greek isles. These, as everybody has noticed, are not flattish lumps of loose texture, like the others, but either globular or of a cup-like form, with fine pores, and are not easily torn. They are got by divers plunging from a boat, many fathoms down, with a heavy stone tied to a rope for sinking the man, who snatches the sponges, puts them into a net fastened to his waist, and is then hauled up. Some of the Greeks, instead of diving, throw short harpoons attached to a cord, having first spied their prey at the bottom through a tin tube with a glass bottom immersed below the surface waves. Mr. Simmonds refers to a German treatise by Von

Eckhel, on the "Badeschwämme," from which he borrows most of his knowledge upon this subject. The existing sources of supply may possibly be exhausted. It is only within certain limits of temperature and other physical conditions of the sea-water, and upon ground of suitable quality, that fine sponges will grow. The Austrian Government is trying to promote their artificial culture on the Dalmatian coast; and M. Lamiral, for the French Société d'Acclimatation, has made experiments at the isles of Hyères, near Toulon. We should think our colonial Governments of Queensland and other Australian provinces might find it worth while to do the same. The northern shores of New Zealand and the Fiji Islands would probably afford the requisite conditions. The sponge-making animal, like some other zoophytes, can be multiplied by cutting him in pieces, leaving each piece to live and grow by itself. It is stated by Dr. Oscar Schmidt, of the University of Grätz, that in three years, at a cost of 8*l.* 8*s.*, four thousand sponges can be raised, worth 16*l.*, which would seem to be a profitable enterprise.

Whaling and sealing operations are of course included by Mr. Simmonds in his description of the means by which the sea is compelled to yield its wealth for human service. It is rather annoying that he will call these "fisheries" when he is speaking of marine mammals; and he has so little to say about them as hardly to justify their ostensible place in his book. Here is a sentence, for example, which does not tell the reader much about whalebone, yet it is all we get upon the subject:—"Whalebone, as it is erroneously termed, is another valuable product of this fishery." But what is whalebone? might still be asked in vain by an ignorant reader; and Mr. Simmonds expects to have such readers, for he says that some do not know whether a sponge is a plant or an animal. He is, for his own part, a well-informed man, a statistician, and perhaps a second-hand naturalist; but he does not take the pains to adapt his explanations to a fair standard of general knowledge. His work is, therefore, not a sufficient textbook of its professed subject, though certain parts of it bear witness to special research, and present many interesting details of information. Nearly twenty pages are devoted to isinglass, more than forty to shells, and an equal space to sea-weed; nor does it seem too much for these matters separately regarded. It may prove worth while, in discussing a question of commercial or fiscal policy, to know even small facts of this description—that other fishes beside the Russian sturgeon have swim-bladders yielding a pure gelatine; and that the extraction of iodine from kelp is almost confined to Great Britain and France. Mother-of-pearl has had something to do with Birmingham manufactures, at one time giving employment to four or five thousand hands. To despise this kind of knowledge as trivial and sordid is no part of wisdom. A great variety of minute circumstances may, from time to time, affect the industrial economy of a nation. The possible effect of very little things upon large social interests ought not to be disregarded. In this point of view, an account of the commercial products of the sea appears to be worth having, so far as it is correct; but the work here before us is far from complete.

#### MORICE'S PINDAR.\*

AS the supplementary series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers" must some day come to an end, and as Pindar had not been taken in his proper place before the dramatists, it would be hard to name a Greek author so fit for an impressive conclusion. One could have wished, indeed, to see a volume devoted to the pastoral or bucolic poets of a far later age, the sweet and versatile idyllist Theocritus and his co-mates Bion and Moschus; but, if this was not to be, there is obvious appropriateness in placing in the hands of a scholar who has already published a happy version of the Olympian and Pythian Odes the task of presenting Pindar and his works to English readers. Such an undertaking is particularly seasonable just now, when the explorations at and near Olympia under the sanction of the German Government have been unearthing columns and cornices, statues and pediments, temples and sacred precincts, which tell the story of the foremost of the Greek Panhellenic games at the zenith of their fame, upon which so many allusions and myths in Pindar will be found to bear. In reading a very interesting article on the discoveries at Olympia in the current number of the *Edinburgh Review*, one might almost conceive the writer to have used Mr. Morice's pen when he pictures the growth of the Olympic festival, and traces its stages from a local to a Panhellenic, and from a Panhellenic to an oecumenical gathering. Mr. Morice himself, in his chapter on "the Four Great Games," after describing the topographical details of Olympia before its glories of architecture and sculpture had enhanced the charm of its natural features, thus describes the surroundings of the pageant as it seemed to the eye of the looker-on:—

Among these groves and streams, for the five days and nights which the festival occupied, lay encamped a multitude from every tribe and colony of Greece, imposing in its mere numbers, and rendered yet more brilliant by the presence of official deputations (called "Theoria") from the various States, vying with each other in the magnificence of their

\* Pindar. By the Rev. F. D. Morice, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Ancient Classics for English Readers Series. London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

dress and equipment. The numerous well-appointed cars, each drawn by four spirited horses, which started together for the chariot race, must in themselves have been an exciting spectacle. And the athletes, in their manly beauty and splendid muscular development, provoked enthusiastic demonstrations from the spectators. A midsummer sun beat with only too fierce a radiance upon the scene by day, and at night, from a hundred banquets, songs of triumph and festivity rose into the clear sky, illumined by the full orb of the harvest moon.

It was mainly the widespread repute of these festivals that gave Pindar the special field for his song; and the English reader will find no better help towards unlearning the misconceptions of Greek choral poetry derived from misty ideas of English Pindarics than the two chapters of the volume before us on its form and matter as seen in Pindar's Odes. Mr. Morice likens the combination of voice, instruments, and dancing to the performance of a cantata sung in solemn or joyous procession to the accompaniment of a moving orchestra of flutes and harps, and shows the exact subordination of each to each. He defines the structure of the choral ode as it was arranged by Stesichorus, the order of strophe, antistrophe, and epode, and the occasions when the epode could be with propriety omitted. As to matter, the choral ode is shown to have been chiefly devoted to religious services, procession chants, pæans, and enthronements of the statues of gods in their temples; to encomia and epinicia, or victory odes, among which the blunder of a grammarian has left a sample in the eleventh Nemean Ode, as well as *threni* or dirges—a class almost extinct; and to the scolia, or cross-songs, confined to the social gatherings of the noble. It was to the encomia and epinicia especially that mythology lent its choicest stores, when the poet sought to praise a patron or point a moral, and, as in the case of the maturer works of Pindar, to vary compliments and moral sentiments that might else have seemed trite and tedious. If Corinna's rebuke was not dictated by the spite of a rival, Pindar's earliest works showed an indiscriminate use of the myth; and we may infer from his extant odes from the twentieth year of his age until his death at eighty, that, however it may have been given, he laid to heart the advice, "One should sow with the hand and not with the full sack." Certain it is that he wrought with a tact and a knowledge of the road to popularity with his contemporaries and countrymen which won him the epithet of "divine," as well as the solid rewards of a regular and profitable profession, which is more than could be said of the great Attic tragedians and historians.

The poet was born at or near Thebes during the Pythian Festival of the Delphic Apollo in 522 B.C., but his family traced their lineage up to the hero Ægeus of Sparta, whose descendants had branched off into two lines, in Sparta and its colonies and at Thebes; and he delighted to claim as his ancestress the Arcadian nymph Metope, the mother of Thebe, mythic foundress of Thebes. It was no marvel that his family were hereditary flute-players, since that was the national instrument of Boeotia. Tradition ascribes his early training to his stepfather Scopelinos, and his bringing out to Lasus of Hermione, the dithyrambist and lyric poet at Athens. At twenty he returned to Thebes, and began the career which soon became so splendid. His first prize was won by the response to an invitation from a young Thessalian of the half-royal House of the Aleuads to celebrate his victory in the Pythian games. The victor's name was Hippocleas, and a certain Thorax, whom Pindar mentions in his ode (Pyth. x. 64), appears to have introduced the poet to him:—

In friendly Thorax rests my trust, who, toiling for my grace,  
Hath yoked this car of song with steeds in fourfold trace,  
And gives me guidance back for guidance, love for love;

where the metaphor from the charioteer's art refers to the commission to execute the ode in question, with its ternaries of strophe, antistrophe, and epode. From this start his progress was rapid, culminating in the honour of his house being spared by the "great Emathian conqueror" nearly three centuries after his death. We read of his writing an ode for an Athenian festival which was so complimentary that the Theban authorities fined him—a fine which Athens paid. His popularity in that city was such that the Athenians appointed him their Proxenus or "consul;" and so much were his services sought that Hiero offered him a home at Syracuse, where Simonides and Bacchylides were installed already. The poet, however, refused the invitation, and there is no evidence that he ever lived in Syracuse, though he may have visited it. Some traditions speak of the musical tastes of his two daughters, and one records that he had descendants at Thebes when Alexander destroyed it. The legends attaching to his memory are unusually poetical—e.g. Pan overheard by a belated wayfarer singing a psalm of Pindar's; and the myth of the tired poet being overtaken with sleep on the slopes of Helicon and a swarm of bees settling on his lips and filling his mouth with honey—a myth, however, the honour of which he shares with Homer before him and in later days with Plato and St. Ambrose. From Pindar's biographers little of importance is to be gleaned. And, as Mr. Morice observes, to frame a life of Pindar from his Odes would lead to strange results if a Euhemeristic interpretation is to be put on the poet's allusions. Not every modern bard who tells us of his "slumbers on Parnassus' brow" can be inferred to have trod in fact the soil of Greece.

The chapter of Mr. Morice's little volume which discusses the four great games of Greece is full, not only of curious and picturesque details, but of reasons why these festivals, especially those of Olympia, exercised so wide and lasting an influence. Personal

pro prowess was in those days, infinitely more than in modern times, the measure of a citizen's power to serve his State, especially in the battle-field; and, as regards victory in the chariot race, the author is no doubt right in attributing its prominence to the prestige attaching in Greece to horse-breeding as a token of wealth and of a desire to use it liberally. As one sees in the dialogue between Strepsiades and Pheidippides in the first scene of Aristophanes's *Clouds*, this taste was regarded as the antithesis to miserly hoarding of wealth; and Aristotle is the authority for the doctrine "that, where a State is strong in horses, the chief power will be found to reside with the nobles." The sentiment also of Panhellenic unity must have tended to the continuance for so many ages of these famous Greek contests, of which the three comparatively minor ones were respectively held under Delphi's height on the plain of Crissa, in the Glen of the Lion amidst the mountains of Argolis, or on the sea-severing ridge of the Corinthian Isthmus. The Nemean and Isthmian games were in alternate years, the prizes being, at the one, a wreath of parsley; at the other of pine; while the prize of the Pythian winners was a wreath of laurel, recalling Wordsworth's beautiful legend of Apollo's late atonement to Daphne. (See p. 62.)

It is impossible here to do more than point the attention of readers to our author's minute examination of Pindar's "modus operandi" in composing his odes. One point is clearly set forth, that the poet's surprises, the sudden leaps into Mythland in which he revels, when

From theme to theme the bright applause lay,  
As bees from flower to flower, speeds on its changeful way,

are no sign of obscurity, but are made of set purpose, and the digressions with which he introduces them are in reality carefully planned episodes. If he does not work out a myth, the modern reader must bear in mind that his audience possessed the key to it. By a subtle and searching examination the author refutes the charge of unorthodoxy in religion as regards Pindar, and shows that his attitude towards popular beliefs was that of a general reverence, with the often implied reservation of judicious silence.

The average English reader will find in the pages of this Ancient Classic abundant insight into Pindar's skilful treatment of his panegyric tasks, and may note the tact with which, without abatement to his dignity, he could "speak the truth in love" to his patrons. Thus in Ol. v. he contrived to sooth the wounded pride of his patron Psaumis under the irreverent jests on his age and grey hairs, by calling up another grey-haired champion from Mythland. In the second Pythian Ode to Hiero, his chief patron, Pindar uses Ixion's double sin to point the moral that "still should gratitude good deeds repay," and covertly dissuades the monarch from a twofold crime against his brother Polyzelus, akin to that of David against Uriah, with such tact that "the censor is at the same time the panegyrist." With equal adroitness does he handle the same patron's foibles when in one place he glorifies liberality, and in another dissuades him from aggressive measures against Thero by picturing the charms of the counter-blessing of peace:—

Deinomenes' son, of thee  
Sings at her door each Locrian maid, and looks abroad no more afraid  
From horrors of war by thy power set free."

In truth Pindar was no mere courtier; and his extant odes, carefully studied, breathe a happy medium between independence and avoidance of offence. No poet ever excelled him in felicitous compliments to real merit, as when, in the Sixth Pythian Ode, he addresses the ode, not to the chariot-victor, Thero's brother Xenocrates, but to his son Thrasibulus, who had acted as charioteer. Father and son being linked together by loyal affection and kindred generosity of spirit, what subtler compliment could be conceived than a reference to Antiochus's service to his sire, the aged Nestor, when he received Memnon's spear-point in his stead in the skirmish under the walls of Troy? Amongst Mr. Morice's most interesting chapters is that which prefaces the Sixth Olympian Ode to Agesias, a member of the Syracusan branch of the sacerdotal guild of the Iamids, "a sort of honorary canons in the temple chapter," a race of soothsayers as well as custodians of Jove's oracle among the Dorian Greeks. Pindar doubtless meant this ode for a masterpiece; and any one who reads the story of Apollo's secret wooing of the nymph Pitane, and the infancy of the offspring of it, Iamus—a story which in one part reminds Mr. Morice of Hagar and Ishmael, in another recalls Cretusa and her child Ion—must acknowledge it to be one of the most beautiful and touching flights in Pindar's poetry. Collaterally with his account of Pindar's seventh Olympic ode, and the family of Diagoras of Rhodes, in whose honour it was composed, Mr. Morice mentions a curious tale, told by many ancient authors, of a female member of that family, by name Pherenice, who transgressed the law which forbade the presence of women at Olympia, through her anxiety to witness her son's prowess in the lists. He won the race; her presence was detected, and she was condemned to death by being hurled from a rock. But on her pleading the exceptional position of her family as athletes, not only was her sentence remitted, but (as in the story of the female witness of the mystic rites of the Freemasons) the breach of the law secured her admission for the rest of her days to the coveted assemblage. The later pages of this pleasant book are full of well-chosen anecdotes of Pindar's creditable and generous use of his inimitable art; as, for instance, where, to aid the cause of an



exiled noble of Cyrene, he brings round his complimentary ode to the monarch Arcesilas to the glorification of mercy as the true secret of greatness. We close the volume with the feeling that the illustrious Theban is fortunate in the appreciative sympathy of his latest exponent.

## AMERICAN LITERATURE.

PROFESSOR TYLER'S *History of American Literature* (1) reaches only the conclusion of the Colonial period, bringing down the work to that point at which modern American literature may be said to have begun. The first books written, if not printed, in the English possessions beyond the Atlantic were, as was natural, almost exclusively devoted to explanations of the resources of the country and the needs of the colonists, or to descriptions, necessarily very imperfect and often very fanciful, of the aboriginal inhabitants, human and other, of the newly discovered continent. Captain John Smith's accounts of his achievements, exploring expeditions, and adventures in Virginia are among the most interesting and typical works of this earliest period, highly amusing, often deeply interesting, but certainly by no means always worthy of reliance. They illustrate forcibly the hardships and difficulties of the first colonists, the dangers to which they were exposed, less from Indian hostility than from their own ignorance, and from the embarrassments inseparable from the position of settlers in an utterly wild land of whose character they were necessarily ignorant, and the cultivation of which seems to have been in every case at first precarious, and often unprofitable. The want of legal organization and authority was another great cause of peril, and almost of ruin, to the more southern settlements; while those of New England, though less favoured by the mother-country, possessed from the first a stringent and effective organization of their own, and suffered rather from popular bigotry and from the tyranny of ministers and leaders than from any deficiency of law or recognized authority. On the other hand it would seem from all contemporary records that, probably owing to their fanaticism and fierce and gloomy temper, the Puritans of the North incurred much earlier and more systematic hostility from the natives than did the first settlers in Virginia—a name which, it must be remembered, included at first the whole country south of the Pennsylvania border, Maryland and Delaware being founded by independent bodies of colonists upon lands confessedly at first within the old Dominion, and with which her citizens were for a long time reluctant to part. The next class of American writers were the natural offspring of Puritanism, being mostly preachers, men happily in these days much more admired than imitated, and, fortunately for their own fame, much more generally praised than read. The Pilgrim Fathers are somewhat like the eponymic heroes of Hellenic settlements—idealized figures, types of a character strong, stern, and suited to the purpose in hand, rather than real personages. Unlike the Argonauts and the waifs of the Trojan war, from whom so many cities a thousand years afterwards traced the descent of their people, the founders of the New England colonies are, indeed, all historical; but as historical personages they bear but an imperfect resemblance to the ideal pictures preserved by tradition or formed by the reverent imagination of their descendants. Fortunately their Quaker victims have preserved a counter tradition which to some extent corrects those absurd poetic and oratorical estimates of the persecuting and fanatical Fathers of Massachusetts and Connecticut which their own revered but unread writings are hardly likely to modify. The tradition which represents the Winthrops, Cotton Mathers, and the rest, as departing from England to establish freedom of conscience in America, is as exactly opposite to the truth as any myth that has grown up in the course of two thousand instead of two hundred years. But it is scarcely less accurate than most of the received notions respecting a people to whom freedom of conscience was a thing more hateful than atheism, and almost as detestable as prelacy, popery, or quakerism itself.

Dr. Weisse's account of the Origin and Progress of the English Language (2) is an eminently laborious, and on the whole we may say meritorious work, though the writer's views upon many philological questions are hardly accordant with the most generally accepted doctrines of the highest authorities in this youngest-born of sciences. For example, the author places the Semitic tongues, not indeed on a par, but side by side with Sanscrit and other Aryan languages as sources from which the early English or Anglo-Saxon tongue has been derived, and inserts in the same table, and as if of equal value, dialects and distinct languages, original tongues like the Latin and purely derivative ones like French and the other Romance tongues of modern Europe. However, in this very table he honestly provides the reader with the means of judging for himself of the value of his suggestions and the real relations of the English language; tabulating the words in the Lord's Prayer for which he finds cognate words in the several languages compared, and allowing any observant student to see how exceedingly distant, if not purely imaginary,

is the connexion between the Aryan and Semitic forms, how close is the resemblance of the Old-English to the Low Dutch and Gothic, and how wide the distinction between this family and the High Dutch. He does not mark with equal clearness the distinction between aboriginal English words common to rather than derived from those of the family to which English belongs, and the directly imported terms which it owes to Latin, ecclesiastical, classical, or scientific. Probably the most interesting and most useful part of the work is not the philological, but the historical portion, the sketches and specimens given of English literature from the earliest to the latest period. The first works wherein English was employed as a written language, and by which its form was gradually fixed, are little known to any but professed students of English antiquities and philology; and a book which gives the ordinary reader a general account of them is a valuable contribution to the education of a people of whose higher classes Lord Beaconsfield has said that they know no tongue but their own, though they really know less of the history and origin of their own language and the method of its structure than of those of half-a-dozen dead and living foreign tongues. The writer's remarks on orthography are somewhat feeble and illogical. For example, he considers the ancient terminal *ie* as a defect, almost as a blunder, and the substitution of the *y*—a vowel which, except as the representative of the Greek *u*, has scarcely a place or meaning in English—as a modern improvement. Again, he notes with great satisfaction the dropping of the final *e* mute from a number of words, and infers that it might with equal advantage be altogether abandoned, failing to observe that the examples of its abandonment which he selects are, with scarcely an exception, evidences of the reasonableness of its retention in other cases, since the words from which it has been dropped are those in which its retention could not affect the pronunciation, while, where retained, it serves to mark the sound given to the effective vowel preceding. Nor does he attach, as might have been expected from a German, sufficient importance to the possibility that in many cases the final *e* now mute might have been originally sounded.

The *Life and Letters of George Cabot* (3), as arranged by a descendant who justly honours the memory of an ancestor very little known even among his countrymen, have a considerable historical interest. The writer played a part not altogether unimportant among the politicians of his time; but the special value attaching to these relics of the man is due, not to his personal importance, but rather to his representative position. We see in him what practical men of calm judgment and independent tone naturally thought of the circumstances of the time to which he belonged. The dominant opinion of his generation was passionately French, and bitterly hostile to England, though a very few—and those the very best of the Federalist statesmen by whose efforts the Union was chiefly founded and sustained—recognized that France was the representative, first of savage anarchical passion, and afterwards of selfish aggression; while England, notwithstanding the peculiar relation in which she stood to her American colonies, was throughout the long contest with the Republic and the Empire the defender of national liberties and constitutional order. This view Cabot took from the first and maintained throughout his career as senator and diplomatist; and the chief interest of his letters lies in the evidence they afford that, however overpowered by popular passion and overruled by the interest or the temper of the most powerful statesmen of the day, this view was that of a very considerable number of the classes qualified by education and experience to understand the nature of the interests at stake, and to judge impartially the circumstances of a conflict in which America was but secondarily concerned. As too many Liberal writers in this country have adopted without sufficient examination the American view of that great struggle, and especially of the side issues in which America was entangled, it is well worth while to observe how the passing events of the time were regarded by a cool and unbiassed American, capable of taking something more than a merely national view of the struggle between the French Revolution and Empire on the one hand, and England as the defender of European freedom on the other.

Mr. Robert Winthrop belongs to that hereditary aristocracy, not of fortune, but of mental culture and character which Massachusetts almost alone among the Northern States still possesses, and to the members of which she owes the greater part of her intellectual and moral reputation. Like Cabot, not being himself a man of special eminence, he is the more truly a representative character; and it is in this aspect that his addresses and speeches at meetings of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, on College anniversaries, and similar occasions (4), possess a certain interest for English readers. The author belongs to one of the very oldest and most esteemed families in the Bay State, second only in traditional importance and present credit to the Adamses, but is himself very little known outside his own State.

The *Chronicles of the St. Lawrence* (5) are neither a history of the Canadas nor an account of the river from which they take their name, but rather a congeries of stories and traditions relating

(3) *Life and Letters of George Cabot*. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

(4) *Addresses and Speeches on various Occasions*, from 1865 to 1879. By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

(5) *The Chronicles of the St. Lawrence*. By J. M. Lemoine, Author of "Quebec, Past and Present," &c. "Seaside Series." Montreal: Dawson & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

(1) *A History of American Literature*. Vol. I. 1607-1676, Vol. II. 1676-1765. By Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

(2) *Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature*. By John A. Weisse, M.D. New York: J. W. Bouton. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

to the British possessions in general, and especially to those settlements which lie along the banks of the great northern stream. Stories of adventure and facts of history are curiously intermingled, and in both cases somewhat greater authenticity and clearer authority might at times be desired. On the whole, however, the work is both readable and to some extent valuable, preserving much that might otherwise be lost in more regular works, historical, local, or scientific.

*Art in the House* (6) is a translation from the German, and we therefore need not here attempt to discuss its antiquarian and archaeological value. But the translation may take a place which the original could hardly do as a drawing-room book of the higher type, rendered attractive by its admirably executed illustrations and lucid explanation of domestic architecture and decoration in Egypt and Assyria, in classical Greece and Imperial Rome, and during the middle ages. From few works on this subject would it be easy to pick up so much superficial but useful and interesting information with so little labour.

A report such as those annually made by the Comptroller of the Currency (7) to Congress belongs to that class of blue-books which, unlike many American State papers, falls distinctly outside of the province of literature proper. At the present moment, however, for more than one reason, the annual statement of this officer possesses an interest of a peculiar kind for a much wider public than would generally care to know the facts therein recorded. The resumption of cash payments, placing the national and bank paper of the United States on a par with gold and restoring the basis of all mercantile transactions to the only possible condition of permanent security, gives especial significance to the last report issued under the old system. Also the excitement and alarm caused by several bank failures in Great Britain give value to an account of the position of banks in that country whose banking system most nearly resembles our own. The law requires from the Comptroller an account of the situation of every banking association from which he has received returns during the preceding year. These returns must specify the whole amount of banking capital possessed by each, their debts and liabilities, their circulation, their assets and resources, and the amount held by them in cash, whether under requirement of law or otherwise. The Comptroller is to furnish Congress with a full abstract of these statements for the whole body of banks throughout the Union, and any other information which in his judgment may be useful. He is also required to show what associations have failed or given up business during the year, how much of their circulation has been redeemed, and how much may be still outstanding; and, finally, to recommend any amendment of the laws by which in his opinion the banking system may be improved, and the security of note-holders and other creditors increased. The Comptroller complains of the difficulty found in obtaining statistics from all the banks organized under State, as distinguished from Federal, law; but the latter requires such returns, and, as a rule, they seem to be pretty fully made. The total number of banks in the Union is, according to the last report, 6,456, with a capital of nearly 676 millions of dollars, and deposits exceeding 1,900 millions. Of these, 2,056 are national banks, organized under the Federal law, and 4,400 are State, private, or Savings Banks. Of these banks nearly 1,100, with a capital of 177 millions, and deposits of 551 millions, belong to New England; nearly 2,000 to the middle States, with a capital of over 250 millions, and deposits of nearly 920 millions. The Southern States have not 700 banks, with a capital somewhat smaller in proportion to their numbers, and deposits exceeding the capital by less than one-fourth; while the Western States and Territories have no fewer than 2,700 banks, but with a capital of no more than 177 millions, and deposits of 365 millions. It is noteworthy that the small shareholders of Massachusetts alone are as numerous apparently as those of all the rest of the Union, while of the larger the New England States contain nearly half. Evidently bank stock is a favourite investment for the small savings of families belonging to the less wealthy section of the middle class, and even, we believe, for trust property. The confidence thus shown is in some measure justified by the fact that, since the organization of the national bank system, the entire losses sustained by their creditors through failures have not reached six and a half millions of dollars, less than one-fourth of the deficiency shown in the assets of the Glasgow Bank alone. The regulations by which the solvency, and especially the circulation, of the national banks is protected are imposed by Federal law, which requires that one-half of the capital stock must be paid in before a bank can begin business, and the remainder within six months afterwards, while the circulation is limited to a fixed proportion of the paid-up capital; and to secure the redemption of the notes at a distance from the bank of issue the latter is required to keep on deposit in the United States treasury cash equal to 5 per cent. upon its entire circulation. Against its notes generally each is required to hold a considerable proportion of United States securities. On the whole, it is evident that the system now prevailing has done very much to redeem

the character of banking in the United States, which before the passing of the present law was anything but satisfactory.

*A Century of American Literature* (8) is merely a collection of extracts from popular authors in prose and verse, the former decidedly better chosen than the latter, but none calling for much remark. It hardly rises above the level of ordinary railway literature.

We have several volumes of verse; but none of signal merit. The *Bride of Gettysburg* (9) is an intolerably long novel in verse, and not very good verse either. The *Tour of Prince Eblis* (10), a sketch of society and politics from what is meant to be a Satanic standpoint, is also unduly long, and wanting at once in vigour of versification and in the terseness and force indispensable to effect in satire. *Drift From York Harbour* (11) has fewer faults, and has at least the negative merits of brevity and of bounded ambition; and the same may be said of the collection to which the first poem *Meg* (12) gives its unpoetic title. In carrying his *Poems of Places* (13) round the world, Mr. Longfellow has at last come back to his own immediate home—New England. The descendants of the Puritans have produced an amount of poetry hardly to have been expected from such an ancestry—poetry whose quantity and quality alike would have scandalized not a little the founders of the North-Eastern colonies, but which is not on that account the less suited to the taste of the present age, or the less successful in taking its place among the common treasures of the English tongue. *Play-Days* (14) is a child's story-book likely to suit the readers for whom it is intended.

(8) *A Century of American Literature, 1776-1876*. Edited by Henry R. Beers, Assistant Professor of English Literature in Yale College. New York: Holt & Co. "Leisure Hour Series."

(9) *The Bride of Gettysburg: an Episode of 1863*. In Three Parts. By J. D. Heylton, Author of "Voices from the Rocky Mountains," &c. Palmyra, New Jersey. 1878.

(10) *The Tour of Prince Eblis: his Rounds in Society, Church, and State*. Chicago: the Central Publishing Company.

(11) *Drift from York Harbour, Maine*. By George Houghton, Author of "Christmas Booklet," &c. Boston: Williams & Co. 1879.

(12) *Meg, a Pastoral; and other Poems*. By Zadel Barnes Gustafson. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1879.

(13) *Poems of Places—America, New England*. Edited by Henry W. Longfellow. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

(14) *Play-Days: a Book of Stories for Children*. By Sarah O. Jewett, Author of "Deephaven." Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

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(6) *Art in the House: Historical, Critical, and Aesthetic Studies on the Decoration and Furnishing of the Dwelling*. By Jacob von Falke, Vice-Director of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry at Vienna. Authorized American Edition. Translated from Third German Edition. Edited, with Notes, by Charles C. Perkins, M.A. Illustrated. Boston: Prang & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

(7) *Annual Report of the Comptroller of the Currency of the United States, December 2, 1878*. Washington: Government Printing Office.



## CONTENTS OF No. 1,216, FEBRUARY 15, 1879:

The Zulu War—The Beginning of the Session—Germany—Eastern Affairs—Mr. W. H. Smith on the Depression of Trade—The French Ministry—Railway and Gas Property—The Liverpool Strikes.

French Society and the Republic—Sensational Sermons—Burglars and Bushrangers—Leland's Itinerary—The Standard of Heroism—Steel Ships—Little Red Riding-hood in the Court of Appeal—The World's Production of Silver.

McCarthy's History of Our Own Times—Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians—Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell—Huxley's Hume—L'Idée de Jean Tétou—Sport and Work on the Nepal Frontier—Arundell Sturt—Cartouche—The Belvedere Gallery at Vienna—German Literature.

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Printed by SPOTTISWOODE & CO., at No. 5 New-street Square, in the Parish of St. Bride, in the City of London; and Published by DAVID JONES, at the Office, No. 25 Southampton Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the County of Middlesex.—*Saturday, February 22, 1879.*